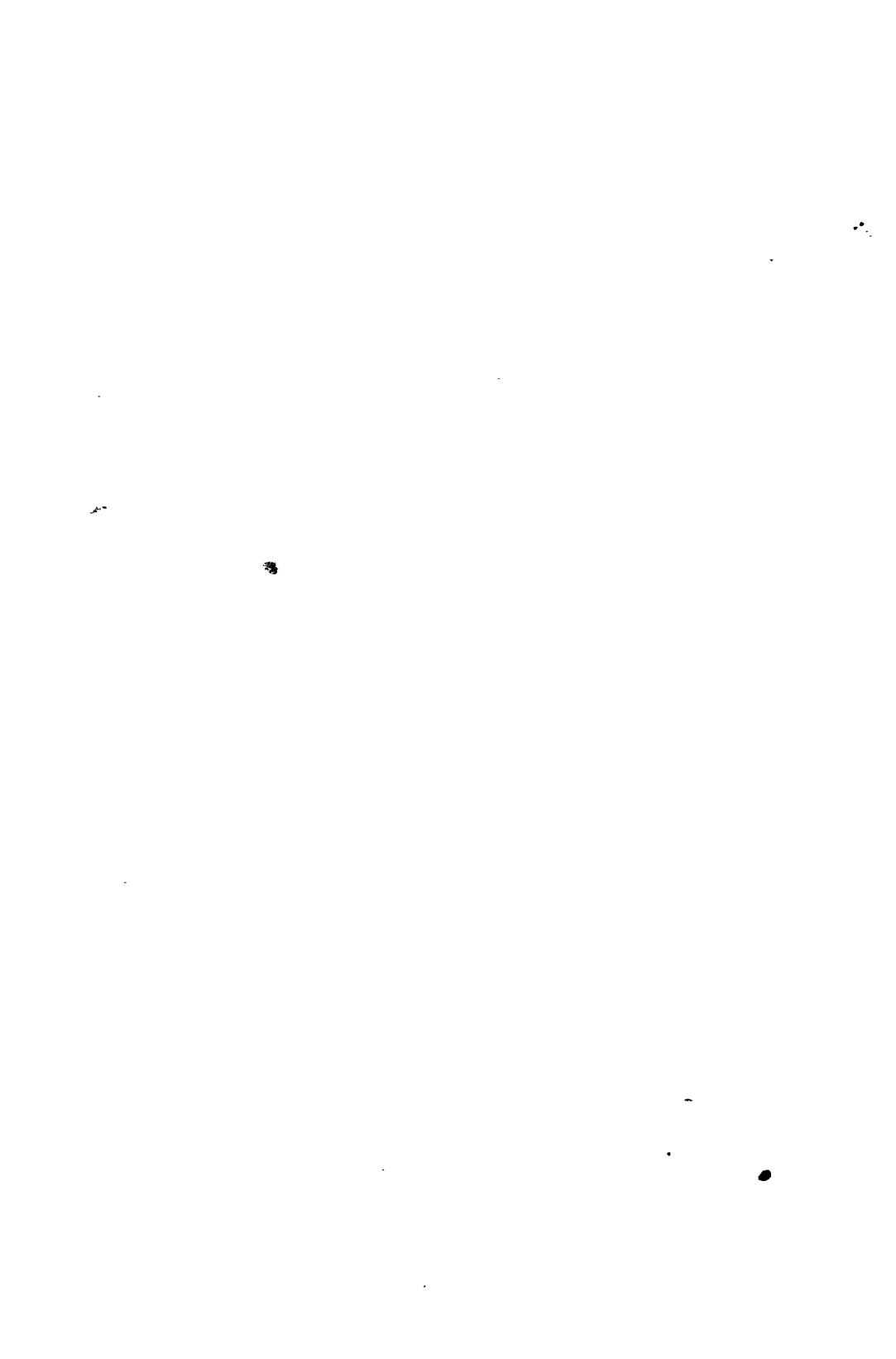


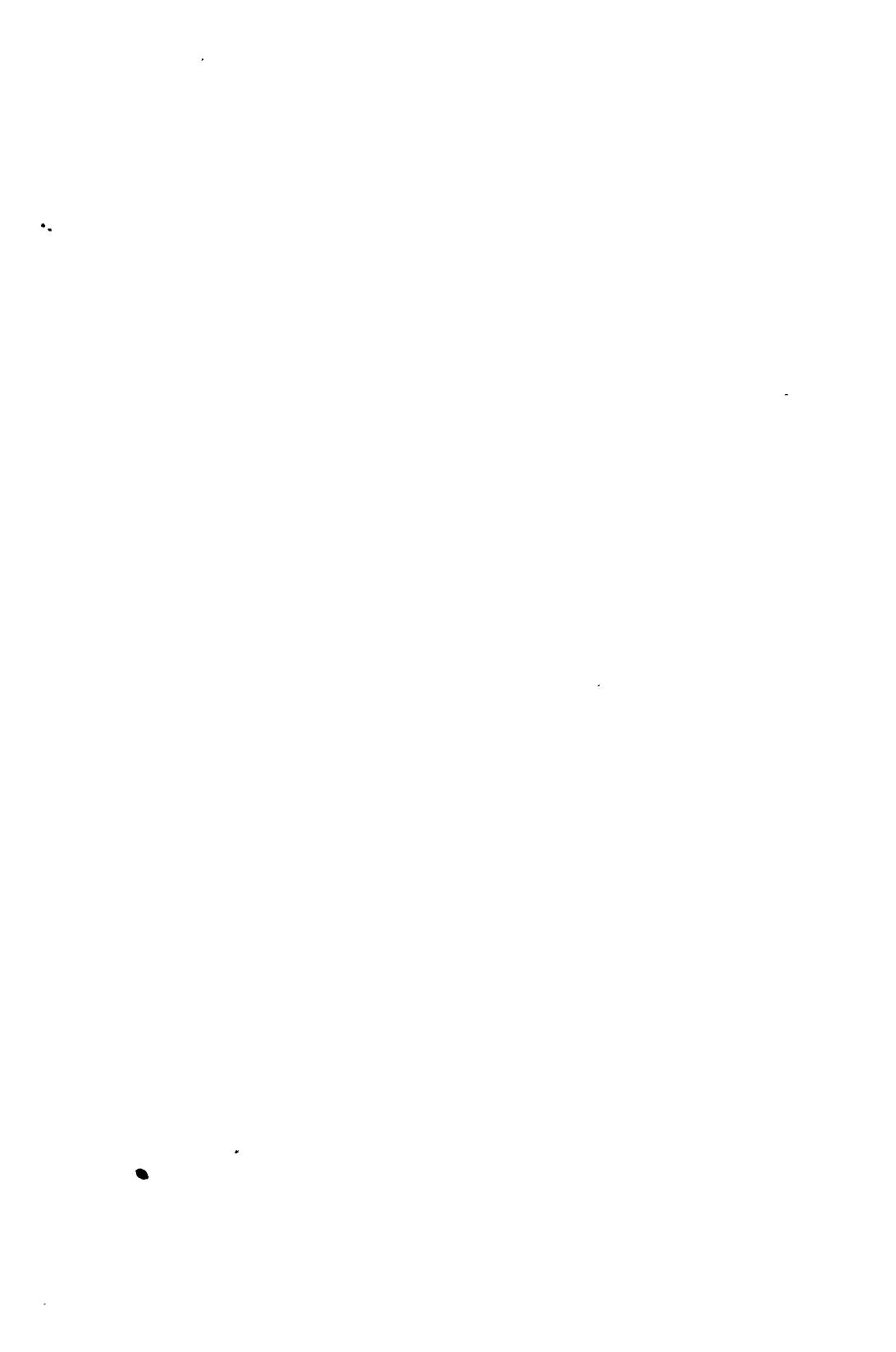
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THE
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MODERN HISTORY
ATLAS

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THE
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EDITED BY

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SIR A. W. WARD LITT.D.

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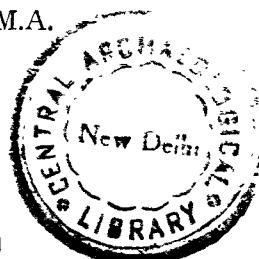
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SECOND EDITION



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PREFACE

TH E arrangement of the Maps contained in *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, the publication of which has been retarded by unforeseen circumstances, is explained in the ensuing Introduction. This arrangement follows so far as is possible the order of the narrative in *The Cambridge Modern History*, and an endeavour has been made to insert all the place names that occur in it.

At the same time, the entire series is designed to stand by itself as an Atlas of Modern History. The general idea of the Atlas is to illustrate, in a series of maps of Europe and of its different countries, as well as of other parts of the world associated with the progress of European History, the course of events by which the Europe of the fifteenth century has been transformed into the Europe of the present day. Some of the maps are designed to illustrate political divisions, others territorial changes, wars by land or sea, the growth of particular States, the course of religious changes, and the history of colonial expansion.

The Introduction has been written by Mr E. A. Benians, Fellow and Lecturer of St John's College, who was entrusted by the Editors with the general work of constructing the maps and revising them during reproduction, and who has carried out this work under their supervision. They desire to place on record their sense of the great ability and unremitting care with which he has executed his laborious and responsible task, spread over more than four years. During the greater part of the present year he has been assisted in the revision of certain of the maps and of the Introduction by Mr H. F. Russell-Smith, of St John's College, Allen Scholar of the University, who has also compiled the Indexes to the Introduction.

In a historical atlas of this kind it is manifestly impossible to enumerate all the materials which have been used in the drawing of the several maps. In the present instance constant reference has been made, as a matter of course, to the great historical atlas of Spruner; and the more recent atlases of Droysen and Poole (*The Oxford Historical Atlas*) have also been of much service, together with those of Vidal de La Blache, Schrader and Hertslet.

The Editors desire to return their thanks for much valuable aid of various kinds received in the course of the preparation of the Atlas, from contributors to *The Cambridge Modern History* and from other

scholars. Among the former are Mr E. Armstrong (Vice-Provost of Queen's College, Oxford), Professor J. B. Bury, Mr F. A. Kirkpatrick, Sir William Lee-Warner, G.C.S.I., Professor Pares, Dr Tanner, Mr H. W. V. Temperley, Mrs K. D. Vernon; among the latter, Professor Marczali (Budapest), Mr R. S. Rait (Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford), Mr A. E. A. W. Smyth (Librarian of the House of Commons), and Dr Williams (Research Fellow of the School of Russian Studies, Liverpool). Mr R. Dunlop, one of our contributors, made Maps 27, 37, 38, and 47, and is responsible for them. Mr P. E. Roberts, also a contributor, revised the spelling of the Indian names in Maps 64, 99, and 122–125.

Liberal use has been made in the construction of Maps 113 and 114 of Mr E. Porritt's *Unreformed House of Commons*, 1903, and of the map in that work.

In addition, the thanks of the Editors are due to the Government of the United States for permission to base Map 76 on Plate XVII (Population Volume, *Tenth Census of United States*, 1880) and Map 77 on Plate VIII (Part I, Population, Volume 1, *Twelfth Census of United States*, 1900); and to the Clarendon Press and Messrs W. & A. K. Johnston for permission to base Map 27 on Map XXXI of *The Oxford Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, edited by Mr R. L. Poole.

The Maps in this Atlas have been executed by Messrs Stanford, to whom, as well as to Mr John Bolton, the Editors desire to express their obligation for the care and attention given to the work at its successive stages.

A. W. W.
G. W. P.
S. L.

November, 1911.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

For this edition the maps and text have been revised and corrected by the Assistant Editor and a subject index has been added by him to the list of maps. No new maps are included, and the scope of the existing maps has not been extended to illustrate events that have happened since 1910, as the object of the Atlas is to illustrate the other volumes of *The Cambridge Modern History*. The Assistant Editor takes this opportunity of thanking those reviewers and contributors to the *History* who have made suggestions for the improvement of the maps.

E. A. B.

May, 1924.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF MAPS AND SUBJECT INDEX TO LIST OF MAPS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
I. EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	7
II. THE AGE OF HABSBURG POWER AND OF THE REFORMATION	31
III. THE RISE OF FRANCE AND SWEDEN	49
IV. THE FORMATION OF THE GREAT POWERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	61
V. THE AGE OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF NAPOLEON	78
VI. SINCE 1815	92
INDEXES TO INTRODUCTION:	
(1) MAPS DESCRIBED	119
(2) LOCAL NAMES	121
MAPS	
INDEX TO MAPS	145

LIST OF MAPS.

1. Europe, 1490 A.D.
2. The Age of Discovery.
3. The Ottoman Advance in Europe and Asia Minor.
4. Italy, c. 1490. *With inset Valley of the Po.*
5. The Empire, showing the Division into Circles.
6. The Burgundian Lands.
7. The Iberian Peninsula in the time of Ferdinand and Isabel.
8. France under Louis XI.
9. Universities of Europe.
10. Dominions of the House of Habsburg in Europe at the Abdication of Charles V.
11. Eastern Frontier of France. Wars of France and the Empire, 1521-59.
12. Germany at the Accession of Charles V.
13. Southern Germany and England. The Peasant Movements of the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries.
14. Germany. The Schmalkaldic War.
15. The Swiss Confederation.
16. England and Wales under the Tudors.
17. Scandinavia in the time of Gustavus Vasa.
18. Western and Central Europe. The Progress of the Reformation to 1560.
19. France. The Religious Wars. *With inset The Neighbourhood of Paris.*
20. Poland and Lithuania. The Union of Lublin, 1569.
21. Hungary at the end of the Sixteenth Century.
22. The Netherlands. The Wars of Independence.
23. Scotland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.
24. North-eastern Atlantic. The Elizabethan Naval War.
25. Savoy in 1601.
26. Italy at the end of the Sixteenth Century.
27. Ireland at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.
28. Germany. Religious Divisions, c. 1610.
29. Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1619-29. Campaigns in Bohemia, the Palatinate, Lower Saxony, and Denmark.
30. The Grisons (Graubünden) and the Valtelline.
31. Germany. The Edict of Restitution, 1629.
32. Eastern Baltic and Northern Poland. Wars of Sweden with Poland and Russia, 1560-1661.
33. Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1630-48. The Swedish Campaigns.
34. England and Wales at the outbreak of the Civil War.
35. England and Wales after the Campaigns of 1644.
36. England and Wales. The Civil War.
37. Ireland, 1558-1652.

LIST OF MAPS, *continued*

38. Ireland. According to the Act of Settlement, September 26, 1653, and subsequent Orders.
39. The Thirty Years' War. The French War, 1635-48, and the Dutch War with Spain, 1620-48.
40. Germany. The Peace of Westphalia.
41. Europe in 1648.
42. North Sea and English Channel. The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century.
43. The Eastern World. Portuguese, Dutch, and English Possessions, c. 1650.
44. Eastern Spain and Western Italy. The Franco-Spanish War, 1635-59.
45. The Netherlands and Western Germany. The Wars of 1648-1715.
46. Eastern France. Territorial Acquisitions during the reign of Louis XIV.
47. Ireland, 1660-1800.
48. South-eastern Europe. Wars of Turkey with the Empire, Venice, and Poland, 1648-1739.
49. Northern Italy. Wars of the Eighteenth Century, 1701-63.
50. West European Waters. Anglo-French Naval Wars, 1689-1763.
51. Europe in 1721, after the Treaties of Utrecht and Nystad.
52. Russia in 1725.
53. The Baltic Lands, 1661.
54. Scandinavia, Russia, and Poland. The Northern War, 1700-21. *With inset Schleswig-Holstein.*
55. Brandenburg-Prussia. Expansion, 1525-1648.
56. Scotland and Northern England. Campaigns of the Pretenders.
57. Central Europe. Wars of Frederick the Great.
58. Poland. The Partitions.
59. Prussia. Territorial Expansion, 1648-1795.
60. The Austrian Empire, exclusive of Italian Possessions and the Austrian Netherlands. Territorial Changes, 1648-1795.
61. Russia. Territorial Expansion, 1725-95.
62. The Empire and the Netherlands, c. 1792.
63. Europe in 1792.
64. India. The Beginnings of British Dominion.
65. Africa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *With inset The Gold and Slave Coasts.*
66. North America. European Colonisation to 1700.
67. North America. French Expansion and British Conquests to 1763.
68. The Thirteen Colonies at the end of the Colonial Period.
69. West Indies in 1763.
70. Eastern North America in 1812. The War of Independence and the War of 1812-4. *With inset Boston and Neighbourhood.*
71. Mexico and Texas, 1845-8.
72. United States. Territorial Expansion.
73. United States. The Secession.
74. United States. The Civil War.
75. The West Indies and the Philippine Islands. The Spanish-American War.
76. United States. Distribution of Population and Railways in 1850.

LIST OF MAPS, *continued*

77. United States. Distribution of Population and Principal Railways in 1900.
78. United States. Economic Regions.
79. France before the Revolution.
80. Paris during the Revolution.
81. Eastern Frontier of France. Revolutionary Campaigns, 1792-5.
82. Brittany and Vendée.
83. Northern Italy. Bonaparte's Campaign, 1796-7.
84. Central Europe after the Peace of Basel and of Campo Formio.
85. Egypt and Syria. The Egyptian Expedition, 1798-1801.
86. Italy in 1799. The War with Naples, 1798-9.
87. European Waters. Naval Wars, 1792-1815. *With inset* Part of the French and Flemish Coast.
88. South-west Germany and North Italy. The War of the Second Coalition, 1798-1801.
89. Central Europe, 1803, after the Peace of Lunéville, 1801, and the Secularisations, 1803.
90. Switzerland under the Act of Mediation, 1803.
91. North Atlantic. Naval War, 1803-5.
92. Central Europe. Wars of the Third Coalition, 1805-7. *With inset* The Neighbourhood of Austerlitz.
93. Central Europe. The Austrian War, 1809. *With inset* The Neighbourhood of Vienna.
94. The French Empire and Central Europe, 1811. Political Divisions.
95. Spain and Portugal. The Peninsular War and other Wars of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.
96. Central Russia. The War of 1812.
97. Germany and Eastern France. The War of Liberation, 1813-4. *With insets* The Neighbourhood of Paris and the Neighbourhood of Leipzig.
98. North-eastern Frontier of France. The Waterloo Campaign, 1815. *With inset* The Neighbourhood of Waterloo.
99. India in 1804. The Mysore and Marátha Wars, 1792-1804.
100. The Eastern World. European Colonies and Dependencies, 1815.
101. The Western World. European Colonies and Dependencies, 1815.
102. Europe after the Congress of Vienna.
103. France since 1814.
104. Italy since 1815. The Struggle for Unity. *With inset* Stages in the Union of Italy, 1859-70.
105. Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1792-1870.
106. America. Spanish and Portuguese Settlements. *With inset* Latin America after the Wars of Independence, 1825.
107. The Germanic Confederation, 1815.
108. Russia in Europe in the Nineteenth Century. *With inset* The Neighbourhood of Warsaw.
109. The Kingdom of the Netherlands to 1839. Holland and Belgium since 1839. •
110. Ottoman Empire in Asia since 1792.
111. The Austrian Dominions since 1815.
112. Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century. The Sonderbund War.

LIST OF MAPS, continued

113. England and Wales. Parliamentary Representation in 1832 before the Reform Bill.
114. England and Wales. Parliamentary Representation in 1832 after the Reform Bill.
115. The Black Sea. The Crimean War. *With inset* South-west Crimea.
116. Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The War of 1864.
117. Central Europe. The War of 1866. *With inset* North-east Bohemia.
118. Eastern France. The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1. *With inset* Neighbourhood of Metz.
119. Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1870-8.
120. The Balkan Peninsula, 1878-1910.
121. England and Wales, 1649-1910.
122. India in the Nineteenth Century. British Expansion, 1805-1910.
123. Northern India. The Mutiny, 1857-9.
124. India. The Western Frontier and Neighbouring Countries. *With inset* Valley of the Kabul River.
125. India. The Eastern Frontier and Neighbouring Countries. French and English Expansion, 1805-1907.
126. The Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.
127. British North America, 1840-67, and the Alaska and Maine Boundary Disputes.
128. The Australian Colonies in the Nineteenth Century. *With inset* Australia in 1851. The Early Settlements.
129. The Dominion of New Zealand. *With inset* New Zealand in 1852. The Early Settlements.
130. Africa in 1910. *With inset* Africa in 1870.
131. North-western Africa. French colonisation.
132. Egypt under British Protection and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. *With inset* Mouths of the Nile.
133. South Africa since 1815. The Kaffir and Boer Wars.
134. The West Indies and Central America in 1910.
135. South America in 1910.
136. Northern Asia. Russian Expansion in the Nineteenth Century.
137. The Japanese Empire. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5.
138. The Chinese Empire in 1910. *With inset* The Neighbourhood of Peking.
139. The Pacific Ocean in 1910.
140. The World. Colonial Possessions and Commercial Highways in 1910.
141. Europe in 1910.

SUBJECT INDEX TO LIST OF MAPS.

	MAP
AFRICA	
Africa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	65
The Gold and Slave Coasts of Africa	<i>65 inset</i>
Africa in 1870	<i>130 inset</i>
Africa in 1910	130
AUSTERLITZ	
The Neighbourhood of Austerlitz, 1805	<i>92 inset</i>
AUSTRALIA	
Australia in 1851	<i>128 inset</i>
The Australian Colonies in the Nineteenth Century	128
AUSTRIA	
The Austrian Empire, exclusive of Italian Possessions and the Austrian Netherlands. Territorial Changes, 1648–1795	60
The Austrian Dominions since 1815	111
BALKAN PENINSULA. <i>See also under OTTOMAN EMPIRE</i>	
The Balkan Peninsula, 1878–1910	120
BELGIUM. <i>See NETHERLANDS</i>	
BOHEMIA	
North-east Bohemia, 1866	<i>117 inset</i>
BOSTON	
Boston and Neighbourhood, 1775	<i>70 inset</i>
CANADA	
British North America, 1840–67	127
The Alaska and Maine Boundary Disputes	127
The Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland	128
CHINA	
The Chinese Empire in 1910	138
COLONISATION	
The Age of Discovery	2
The Eastern World. Portuguese, Dutch, and English Possessions, <i>c.</i> 1650	43
Africa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	65
North America. European Colonisation to 1700	66
North America. French Expansion and British Conquests to 1763 .	67
The Thirteen Colonies at the end of the Colonial Period	68
West Indies in 1763	69

	MAP
COLONISATION (continued)	
South and Central America. Spanish and Portuguese Settlements	106
The Eastern World. European Colonies and Dependencies, 1815	100
The Western World. European Colonies and Dependencies, 1815	101
Africa in 1910	130
North-western Africa. French Colonisation	131
Northern Asia. Russian Expansion in the Nineteenth Century	136
The World. Colonial Possessions and Commercial Highways in 1910	140
CRIMEA	
South-west Crimea, 1855-6	115 <i>inset</i>
DENMARK. See SCANDINAVIA	
EGYPT	
Egypt under British Protection and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	132
ENGLAND	
The Peasant Movements of the Sixteenth Century	13
England and Wales under the Tudors	16
England and Wales at the outbreak of the Civil War	34
England and Wales after the Campaigns of 1644	35
England and Wales. The Civil War	36
England and Wales. Parliamentary Representation in 1832 before the Reform Bill	113
England and Wales. Parliamentary Representation in 1832 after the Reform Bill	114
England and Wales, 1649-1910	121
EUROPE	
Europe, 1490 A.D.	1
Universities of Europe	9
Dominions of the House of Habsburg in Europe at the Abdication of Charles V	10
Europe in 1648	41
Europe in 1721, after the Treaties of Utrecht and Nystad	51
Europe in 1792	63
Central Europe after the Peace of Basel and of Campo Formio	84
Central Europe, 1803, after the Peace of Lunéville, 1801, and the Secularisations, 1803	89
The French Empire and Central Europe, 1811. Political Divisions	94
Europe after the Congress of Vienna	102
Europe in 1910	141
FRANCE	
France under Louis XI	8
Eastern Frontier of France. Wars of France and the Empire, 1521-59	11
France. The Religious Wars	19
Eastern France. Territorial Acquisitions during the reign of Louis XIV	46
France before the Revolution	79
Paris during the Revolution	80

FRANCE (*continued*)

MAP

Eastern Frontier of France. Revolutionary Campaigns, 1792-5	81
Brittany and Vendée	82
The French Empire and Central Europe, 1811. Political Divisions	94
North-eastern Frontier of France. The Waterloo Campaign, 1815	98
France since 1814	103
Eastern France. The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1	118

GERMANY

Germany at the Accession of Charles V	12
South Germany. The Peasant Movements of the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries	13
Germany. The Schmalkaldic War	14
Germany. Religious Divisions, c. 1610	28
Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1619-29	29
Germany. The Edict of Restitution, 1629	31
Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1630-48	33
Germany. The Peace of Westphalia	40
The Netherlands and Western Germany. The Wars of 1648-1715	45
The Empire and the Netherlands, c. 1792	62
South-west Germany and North Italy. The War of the Second Coalition, 1798-1801	88
Germany and Eastern France. The War of Liberation, 1813-4	97
The Germanic Confederation, 1815	107

HOLLAND. *See* NETHERLANDSHOLSTEIN. *See* SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEINHOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. *See also under* GERMANY

The Empire, showing the Division into Circles	5
The Empire and the Netherlands, c. 1792	62

HUNGARY

Hungary at the end of the Sixteenth Century	21
---	----

IBERIAN PENINSULA

The Iberian Peninsula in the time of Ferdinand and Isabel	7
Spain and Portugal. The Peninsular War and other Wars of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	95

INDIA

India. The Beginnings of British Dominion	64
India in 1804. The Mysore and Marátha Wars, 1792-1804	99
India in the Nineteenth Century. British Expansion, 1805-1910	122
Northern India. The Mutiny, 1857-9	123
India. The Western Frontier and Neighbouring Countries	124
India. The Eastern Frontier and Neighbouring Countries. French and English Expansion, 1805-1907	125

IRELAND

	MAP
Ireland at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century	27
Ireland, 1558–1652	37
Ireland. According to the Act of Settlement, September 26, 1653, and subsequent Orders	38
Ireland, 1660–1800	47

ITALY

Italy, c. 1490	4
Italy at the end of the Sixteenth Century	26
Northern Italy. Wars of the Eighteenth Century, 1701–63	49
Northern Italy. Bonaparte's Campaign, 1796–7	83
Italy in 1799. The War with Naples, 1798–9	86
Italy since 1815. The Struggle for Unity	104
Stages in the Union of Italy, 1859–70	104 <i>inset</i>

JAPAN

The Japanese Empire. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5	137
---	-----

KABUL, R.

Valley of the Kabul River	124 <i>inset</i>
-------------------------------------	------------------

LATIN AMERICA

Latin America after the Wars of Independence, 1825	106 <i>inset</i>
--	------------------

LEIPZIG

The Neighbourhood of Leipzig, 1813	97 <i>inset</i>
--	-----------------

LITHUANIA

Poland and Lithuania. The Union of Lublin, 1569	20
---	----

METZ

The Neighbourhood of Metz, 1870–1	118 <i>inset</i>
---	------------------

MEXICO

Mexico and Texas, 1845–8	71
------------------------------------	----

NAVAL WARS

North-eastern Atlantic. The Elizabethan Naval War	24
---	----

North Sea and English Channel. The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century	42
---	----

West European Waters. Anglo-French Naval Wars, 1689–1763 . .	50
--	----

European Waters. Naval Wars, 1792–1815. <i>With inset</i> Part of the French and Flemish Coast	87
---	----

North Atlantic. Naval War, 1803–5	91
---	----

NETHERLANDS

The Burgundian Lands	6
--------------------------------	---

The Netherlands. The Wars of Independence	22
---	----

The Dutch War with Spain, 1620–48	39
---	----

The Netherlands and Western Germany. The Wars of 1648–1715 .	45
--	----

The Empire and the Netherlands, c. 1792	62
---	----

The Kingdom of the Netherlands to 1839. Holland and Belgium since 1839	109
---	-----

	MAP
NEW ZEALAND	
New Zealand in 1852	129 <i>inset</i>
The Dominion of New Zealand	129
OTTOMAN EMPIRE	
The Ottoman Advance in Europe and Asia Minor	3
South-eastern Europe. Wars of Turkey with the Empire, Venice, and Poland, 1648-1739	48
Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1792-1870	105
Ottoman Empire in Asia since 1792	110
Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1870-8	119
PACIFIC OCEAN	
The Pacific Ocean in 1910	139
PARIS	
The Neighbourhood of Paris (Sixteenth Century)	19 <i>inset</i>
Paris during the Revolution	80
The Neighbourhood of Paris, 1813-4	97 <i>inset</i>
PEKING	
The Neighbourhood of Peking	138 <i>inset</i>
PO, R.	
Valley of the Po, c. 1490	4 <i>inset</i>
POLAND	
Poland and Lithuania. The Union of Lublin, 1569	20
Poland. The Partitions	58
PRUSSIA	
Brandenburg-Prussia. Expansion, 1525-1648	55
Central Europe. Wars of Frederick the Great	57
Prussia. Territorial Expansion, 1648-1795	59
REFORMATION	
Western and Central Europe. The Progress of the Reformation to 1560	13
Germany. Religious Divisions, c. 1610	28
RUSSIA	
Russia in 1725	52
Russia. Territorial Expansion, 1725-95	61
Russia in Europe in the Nineteenth Century	108
SAVOY	
Savoy in 1601	25
SCANDINAVIA	
Scandinavia in the time of Gustavus Vasa	17
The Baltic Lands, 1661	53
Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The War of 1364	116

	MAP
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN	
Schleswig-Holstein	54 inset
Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein	116
SCOTLAND	
Scotland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	23
Scotland and Northern England. Campaigns of the Pretenders	56
SOUTH AFRICA	
South Africa since 1815. The Kaffir and Boer Wars	133
SOUTH AMERICA. <i>See also under COLONISATION</i>	
South America in 1910	135
SWITZERLAND	
The Swiss Confederation	15
The Grisons (Graubünden) and the Valtelline	30
Switzerland under the Act of Mediation, 1803	90
Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century. The Sonderbund War	112
UNITED STATES. <i>See also under COLONISATION</i>	
Eastern North America in 1812. The War of Independence and the War of 1812-4	70
United States. Territorial Expansion	72
United States. The Secession	73
United States. The Civil War	74
United States. Distribution of Population and Railways in 1850	76
United States. Distribution of Population and Principal Railways in 1900	77
United States. Economic Regions	78
VIENNA	
The Neighbourhood of Vienna, 1809	93 inset
WARS. <i>See also NAVAL WARS</i>	
Wars of France and the Empire, 1521-59	11
The Schmalkaldic War	14
France. The Religious Wars	19
Wars of Sweden with Poland and Russia, 1560-1661	32
Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1619-29	29
Eastern Baltic and Northern Poland. Wars of Sweden with Poland and Russia, 1560-1661	32
Germany. The Thirty Years' War, 1630-48. The Swedish Campaigns	33
The Thirty Years' War. The French War, 1635-48, and the Dutch War with Spain, 1620-48	39
Eastern Spain and Western Italy. The Franco-Spanish War, 1635-59	44
England and Wales at the outbreak of the Civil War	34
England and Wales after the Campaigns of 1644	35
England and Wales. The Civil War	36
The Netherlands and Western Germany. The Wars of 1648-1715	45
South-eastern Europe. Wars of Turkey with the Empire, Venice, and Poland, 1648-1739	48

WARS (*continued*)

	MAP
Scandinavia, Russia, and Poland. The Northern War, 1700–21	54
Northern Italy. Wars of the Eighteenth Century, 1701–63	49
Scotland and Northern England. Campaigns of the Pretenders	56
Central Europe. Wars of Frederick the Great.	57
Eastern Frontier of France. Revolutionary Campaigns, 1792–5	81
Northern Italy. Bonaparte's Campaign, 1796–7	83
Egypt and Syria. The Egyptian Expedition, 1798–1801	85
Italy in 1799. The War with Naples, 1798–9	86
South-west Germany and North Italy. The War of the Second Coalition, 1798–1801	88
Central Europe. Wars of the Third Coalition, 1805–7	92
Central Europe. The Austrian War, 1809	93
Spain and Portugal. The Peninsular War and other Wars of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.	95
Central Russia. The War of 1812	96
Germany and Eastern France. The War of Liberation, 1813–4	97
North-eastern Frontier of France. The Waterloo Campaign, 1815	98
Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century. The Sonderbund War	112
The Black Sea. The Crimean War	115
Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The War of 1864	116
Central Europe. The War of 1866	117
Eastern France. The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1	118
The West Indies and the Philippine Islands. The Spanish-American War	75
The Japanese Empire. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5	137

WARSAW

The Neighbourhood of Warsaw	108 <i>inset</i>
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WATERLOO

The Neighbourhood of Waterloo, 1815	98 <i>inset</i>
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WEST INDIES

The West Indies and Central America in 1910	134
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WORLD, THE

The Age of Discovery	2
The World. Colonial Possessions and Commercial Highways in 1910	140

INTRODUCTION.

The numbers of the maps described are placed in the margin—in black type when the principal description of the map is being given, in ordinary type when an allusion only is made to a map. Indexes of the maps described and of the places mentioned are given at the end of the Introduction.

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages the various peoples who entered Europe in the declining years of the Roman Empire were uniting in definite groups and forming a number of separate States. This process of nation- and State-forming has no definite point of beginning or end. But during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it proceeded so fast that, before the end of the latter, it was evident that in western Europe new States had been formed which could assert both their independence of the medieval Empire and their authority over local liberty and private right. Thus, though the Empire did not disappear at this time, its place was taken by a family of States, of which it was at once the oldest and the weakest member. In the course of a long and almost ceaseless conflict between these new States, the existing political system of Europe has been slowly shaped. It is the object of this Introduction to summarise the series of territorial changes by which this result has been brought about, and thus to trace the process of consolidation and expansion by which the States that were in being in the fifteenth century attained their present form, and the steps by which other States arose and divided with them the lands where no effective political consolidation had taken place during the Middle Ages. We have to observe how, in the course of modern history, the European political system, which in the fifteenth century included only western Europe, has been extended to include the whole of Europe, and how, as European societies have been planted in other continents, new lands have been drawn by commerce and political dependence into its political life until almost the whole known world forms a single political system. We have to see how the formation of this system has been modified by the idea of a Balance of Power, handed down from the precocious political experience of Italy, by the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which, for the

States that formed themselves within its borders, provided a framework of law and order, bridling the worst manifestations of power, and preserving for a long time a multitude of small States which could not otherwise have maintained their independence, and, above all, by the forces of nationality and geography—stronger in the long run than diplomacy, however astute, and force, however great.

1, 41 First, we may observe, in brief outline, the general course of the change that has taken place. At the end of the Middle Ages, France was the strongest monarchy in Europe and the process of change began with her expansion. On her eastern frontier, the Burgundian family had attempted to found a middle kingdom along the lower course of the Rhine, the establishment of which would have given a very different course to the history of Europe. With the failure of that attempt and the division of the Burgundian inheritance began that eastward expansion of France which was for a long time one great trend of modern territorial change. At the other extremity also of the ancient kingdom of Lotharingia, in Italy, France sought to extend her dominion—in this direction, outside of her natural frontiers. Here, the issue was soon decided. In the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, Italy passed indeed under a foreign, but not under a French, yoke, and her political form and place were fixed substantially as they were to remain, until, in the nineteenth century, the movement for unity made her for the first time in her history a single and a great Power, and changed altogether her relations to the other countries of Europe.

A check was placed on the rise of France by the formation of the Habsburg Empire. In the early years of the sixteenth century, by fortunate marriages, inheritances, and conquests, a mighty State came into being which stretched from the plains of the Danube across Germany to the North Sea and the English Channel, included most of the Iberian peninsula, controlled Italy, and exploited America. This unwieldy conglomeration of territories was rapidly formed, and, though, in the middle of the sixteenth century, it divided into two parts, it was able for a century to exercise a dominant influence on the European political system. Two forces modified the influence which the Habsburg Empire might otherwise have exerted—the one, a great religious movement, the Reformation, which weakened its power in Germany, and accelerated the process by which the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved into a group of States—the other, the intrusion into the European polity of the Ottoman Turks. By pressing on the frontiers of the Habsburg Empire in south-eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, the Turks not only extended their own conquests, but they weakened the resistance of the Habsburgs to French expansion and to the disruptive tendencies apparent in Germany. Nevertheless, in western Europe the Habsburg Empire was the controlling factor. Its formation, its losses to France and the Turks, its influence on political tendencies in Germany, and the

outgrowth from it of two new States—the Swiss Confederation and the United Netherlands—comprise the principal territorial changes of the sixteenth century. The two new States that were formed, the one in the first quarter, the other in the last quarter, of the sixteenth century, were defensive leagues which became States in the course of a struggle against the political or religious oppression of the Habsburgs. With different careers both have guarded their independence and the integrity of their territory down to the present day.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, the Empire, divided by 41, 51 the Reformation into hostile camps, was plunged into a religious civil war. At the same time the power of the Spanish Habsburgs began to wane and they lost their dominion in European politics. These two changes concurred to favour the expansion of France. The Thirty Years' War exposed Germany to her attack and thus made easier her eastward advance; the existence of Holland and Switzerland provided her with natural allies; the decline of Spain removed the greatest check on her ambition. Thus, in the seventeenth century, France continually increased her power in the debatable lands on her eastern frontier. Her advance was further aided by the results of these long wars on the Empire, for its multitude of constituent States gained independence in all but name, and were thus the more easily exposed to her influence. Another Power also, Sweden, found her profit in the misfortunes of Germany. North-eastern Europe had its own political problems. Round the Baltic raged a struggle for trade and dominion from which Sweden emerged triumphant over Russia, Denmark, and Poland. In the troubles of Germany she found a new advantage, and, preying on the north of Germany as France did on the west, was able to complete her dominion over the Baltic. The two rising Powers, cooperating in Germany, drew the political problems of Eastern and Western Europe, for the first time, into conjunction. The rise of Sweden was temporary, the power of France lasting. Sweden had not sufficient natural opportunities, and her dominion was contrary to the real balance of material strength. Strong enemies rose to contest it with her. In the confusion of Germany the Electors of Brandenburg formed a powerful State; while, on her eastern frontier, Russia gained unity and independence. At the end of the seventeenth century, turning from east to west, from an Asiatic to an European career, Russia planted herself on the Baltic and the Black Sea. Her advance against the Ottoman empire was premature and was arrested for a while; but Austria at this time finally turned the tables on her ancient foe. The Ottoman empire reached its zenith in 1672. Decline followed swiftly; before the end of the seventeenth century, Hungary and Transylvania were secured by Austria, and some temporary victories over the Turks in the Morea illumined the decay of the Venetian State with a ray of its old glory. In the early eighteenth century disaster still beset the retreating Ottoman empire.

While these changes took place in Europe, England turned her energies to rich fields of opportunity east and west, hitherto monopolised by Spain and Portugal, and began the building of Greater Britain. Holland did likewise, but more for commerce than for empire. Both were deeply concerned when, towards the end of the seventeenth century, there appeared the possibility of a mighty political transformation in Europe by the union of the dominions of France and Spain, and by the addition to the already overwhelming power of the French monarchy of the wealth of the Spanish colonial empire. That transformation they prevented, and in the course of the struggle England, now become Great Britain, gained substantial advantages in the colonial world. Extensive changes in Europe also followed. The expansion of France was checked, and the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs took the place of the Spanish in the Netherlands and Italy, while Savoy was strengthened as a buffer State between France and Austria on the Italian frontier.

51, 62 Between the Peace of Utrecht and the French Revolution there was little change in western Europe. France and England fought a long duel; but, though it had great results in the expulsion of France from America and India, it did not affect the political form of Europe. In Germany and eastern Europe, however, great changes were worked out. A powerful kingdom of Prussia was formed, whose rise, at the expense of Austria and Sweden, to be almost the strongest military Power in Europe was the chief feature of the period. Russia entered the European circle definitely and decisively, advancing against Sweden and Turkey. Austria gained some compensation for her declining influence in Germany out of the decaying empire of the Turks. Suddenly, these three Powers agreed to divide the helpless kingdom of Poland, which thenceforth disappeared from history. As the eighteenth century worked itself out it left Spain in decay; Great Britain deprived of most of Greater Britain by a political cataclysm, the herald of a great change in the colonial world; France on the verge of revolution; Prussia and Russia two new great Powers, conterminous, Prussia stretching across Germany with a foothold on the Rhine, a foothold in South Germany, but the bulk of her territories in the north, Russia planted securely on the Baltic and the Black Sea; Austria strong in south-eastern Europe, but weak beyond—in all, a Europe of half-a-dozen Great Powers, whose balance, slowly worked out by continual readjustment, was to be suddenly overturned by the Revolutionary Wars and the genius of Napoleon.

63, 94 In 1795 began twenty years of territorial change, in the course of which the political system of Europe was subjected to continual reconstruction. The impetus of the Revolution carried the French to the Rhine; the genius of Napoleon carried them to the conquest of central and southern Europe. In Italy, Napoleon swept away Sardinia, Genoa, Venice, the States of the Church, and the Austrian dominion, added a large area to the French empire, and formed of the remainder, first,

a group of republics, and then a group of kingdoms and principalities under his own influence. In Germany, he swept away the ecclesiastical principalities, the Holy Roman Empire, and the great majority of the small States, cut down the territory and power of Austria and Prussia, and formed out of the multitude of small States a group of larger States, which he reorganised as the Confederation of the Rhine. He began the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland in the grand duchy of Warsaw. These changes at last raised a resistance before which he succumbed; and an attempt was then made to restore the political order of the later eighteenth century.

The great resettlement of 1815 curbed the dangerous power of France, gave back to Austria and Prussia their old positions, and restored that balance of power which Napoleon had destroyed. The German States were formed into a vast but feeble Confederation under the joint but unequalised leadership of Austria and Prussia, and Italy was placed again under the heel of Austria. Neither of these settlements was destined to be lasting. The expansion of Russia at the expense of Sweden, Prussia, and Turkey, by the addition of Finland, new parts of the old kingdom of Poland, and Bessarabia, promised and secured greater permanence. The nineteenth century saw great changes. Italy freed herself from Austrian rule, and, gaining unity, entered as a great State into the political system of Europe. The Germanic Confederation was rent asunder by the rivalry of Austria and Prussia. Austria was expelled, and a new State, a German empire under the hegemony of Prussia, took the place of the old Confederation, and enlarged its boundaries at the expense of France by acquiring the long-disputed middle lands of Alsace and Lorraine. In the Balkan peninsula there was continual change. Austria and Russia gained territory at the expense of the Ottoman empire, and the subject nationalities, one by one, rose against Ottoman rule and gained their independence. The Balkan peninsula thus broke up into a group of small States, of which the Ottoman empire, with its receding frontiers in Europe and its larger dominions in Asia Minor and Syria, remains the most important.

Outside of Europe, there has been an even greater transformation. In the old fields of colonisation nations had been gradually forming, and, following the example of the English American colonies, they asserted their independence. In Central and South America a group of Spanish and Portuguese republics now attests the success of Spanish and Portuguese colonisation. The United States of America expanded across the continent and commenced to conquer dominions beyond the seas. But this contraction of European political dominion in other continents proved only temporary. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Russian empire in Asia and the British empire, expanding by colonisation and conquest in Australia, Africa, North America, and Asia, represented the only considerable European forces in other continents.

Both of these empires continued to grow unceasingly. A mighty dominion in India, vast dependencies in Africa, and a group of Anglo-Saxon nations in Africa, America, and Australia, and many smaller possessions, represent the unexhausted results of British colonial activity. But other European Powers also once again entered the colonial field. They divided Africa and the Pacific Islands between them, and gained spheres of influence in eastern Asia. While Spain has virtually withdrawn from the colonial field, France is once more a great colonial Power, the Dutch have held their own, and the German empire has acquired extensive possessions. In eastern Asia Japan now competes with Europe and resists the advance of Russia. Along such lines as these, the political system of fifteenth century Europe, with its promise of States and nations forming and preparing to dispute for dominion and power, has been transformed into the compacter political system of twentieth century Europe, with its military empires, republics, and monarchies, its unstable balance of power, and its worldwide field of competition and contest.

SECTION I.

EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

OUR first endeavour must be to present a picture of the European **1** political system in the later fifteenth century. In western and central Europe the principal States were the Holy Roman Empire—a loose federation of some four hundred duchies, counties, and towns, over which the Dukes of Austria, with their extensive though scattered dominions, exercised the Imperial power—France, England—with its dependency, Ireland—Scotland, the States of the Iberian peninsula, and the States of Italy; in northern and eastern Europe, the Scandinavian Union, the group of Russian principalities under the Tartar yoke, Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Ottoman empire. Of these large States, France had perhaps the greatest degree of unity. In France, a process **2** of internal consolidation had been proceeding for several centuries. The power of the Crown had been steadily extended along the great river valleys—the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone—and, one by one, the great fiefs were being transformed into royal domain. During the later thirteenth and the early fourteenth century, Champagne, Chartres, the Dauphiné, and Guyenne were all acquired. Of the great fiefs which remained to disintegrate the kingdom at the accession of Louis XI in 1461, the most important were the duchies of Burgundy and Britanny and the county of Anjou. Burgundy was seized by Louis XI in 1477, on the death of Charles the Bold. Britanny was a single province and not, like Burgundy or Anjou, one of a large group of territories. But it was more sharply severed by race than was Burgundy from the remainder of France. By the marriage, first of Charles VIII in 1491, and then of Louis XII in 1498, with Anne, the heiress of Britanny, this important province was firmly united to the French kingdom. It was the last fief which bore the character of a separate sovereignty, though its independence was not as dangerous to the unity of France as the possession of Burgundy by a foreign Power had been. The Duke of Anjou held not only Anjou, but also the counties of Provence and Maine, within France, as well as the duchy of Lorraine without, and he had, in addition, a claim to the throne of Naples. In 1480, all the •

possessions of Anjou except Lorraine reverted to the Crown of France. The acquisition of Provence, never before counted part of France, was most important. It brought the French frontiers to the Alps. The duchy of Orleans was another great appanage. It was united to the Crown on the accession of Louis XII, in 1498, and with it the county of Blois. Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, France was definitely passing from the feudal to the monarchical régime. The consolidation of the kingdom was assured, though the process was not complete. One by one, during the sixteenth century, the other great fiefs were effectively absorbed : the viscounty of Narbonne in 1507, the county of Angoulême in 1515, the duchy of Alençon in 1525, the duchy of Bourbon and the county of La Marche in 1527, the county of Forez in 1531, the counties of Armagnac, Foix, Périgord, and Vendôme in 1589, and the viscounty of Béarn in 1607.

The external expansion of France was closely connected with this process of consolidation. It was a natural preliminary to expansion that France should free herself from foreign dominion. A political connexion of centuries between France and England was all but severed when, in 1453, the English were finally expelled from all their French possessions save Calais. In 1462, Louis XI temporarily acquired Roussillon and Cerdagne and brought the French frontier at this point to a natural boundary. The struggle between France and Burgundy not only prevented the foundation of a separate power on the Rhine, a middle kingdom between France and Germany, pressing on the vulnerable side of France, but yielded for the growth of the French kingdom a part of the Burgundian lands. In 1477 Louis XI laid hold of Picardy and the Somme towns as well as the duchy of Burgundy, and put forward claims to Artois, Franche Comté, and Charolais (Charolles). The annexation of Provence in 1486 was a natural addition to France, and carried her frontiers from the Rhône to the Alps. Thus France grew to south and east. Both political and geographical conditions marked these out for her as natural directions of expansion. To make sure of Roussillon and the French part of the kingdom of Navarre, to add Artois and Franche Comté, to annex the north-western provinces of Savoy, and to complete the expulsion of the English by the acquisition of Calais, seemed the things most needed to complete her geographical unity and her power of self-protection.

7 The Iberian peninsula, cut off from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees, forms geographically a distinct area. Of the various Christian States that had grown up in the course of the long struggle for the expulsion of the Moors, four only remained in the fifteenth century. Of these, the largest and strongest was Castile, which occupied the great centre of the peninsula, holding the whole Biscay coast, with an outlet to the Atlantic in the plain of the Guadalquivir and another to the Mediterranean in the plain of the Segura. Descending thus to sea

and ocean, it completely surrounded, on the land side, the kingdom of Granada, the last fortress in Europe of the retreating Moorish Power, and cut off its fellow Christian Powers from any further opportunity of expansion at the expense of the common enemy. Second in size to Castile was the kingdom of Portugal, lying along the Atlantic side of the peninsula, with frontiers to the east which have not shifted in modern history, though the whole kingdom at one time suffered a temporary absorption into the Spanish monarchy (1580–1640). On the eastern side of Castile, rather smaller than Portugal, and with its base on the Mediterranean, was the triangular kingdom of Aragon, which, together with Castile, had absorbed all the smaller Christian kingdoms except Navarre. Aragon, however, was more than a peninsular Power. On the north-east frontier she overlapped the Pyrenees, and included the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, till Louis XI acquired them temporarily in 1462. Stretching across the western Mediterranean, she held the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, finally gained in 1428, and Sicily, conquered in 1282, and incorporated in 1409. On the throne of Naples, also, sat an Aragonese prince. The fourth State was the little kingdom of Navarre, still preserving its independence on the northern frontier of the peninsula. It lay astride the Pyrenees, partly in France and partly in Spain, and the king of Navarre held also the viscounty of Béarn.

The great question of the fifteenth century between the Iberian kingdoms was how far the process of consolidation would be carried, and whether it would be continued by the union of Castile with Portugal or with Aragon. Portugal had been gaining maritime and colonial interests, Aragon Mediterranean interests. In 1469 Isabel of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon. Isabel became Queen of Castile in 1474, Ferdinand King of Aragon in 1479. The two kingdoms, though not consolidated, were united in 1506, and the future character of Spain was determined. The combined kingdoms conquered Granada in 1492, sweeping away thereby the last vestige of Moorish power in Europe, received back Roussillon and Cerdagne from France in 1493, and conquered the southern half of Navarre in 1512; so that only two separate States then remained in the peninsula. This process of consolidation was of the utmost importance. Coupled with the expansion over-sea, which began with the voyages of Columbus, it gave Spain the internal strength and external opportunity which enabled her to contend with France for dominion in Italy and hegemony in Europe. With her Mediterranean possessions, Spain had a natural interest in Italian affairs which led on to great results. With a large Atlantic coast-line, good harbours in the north, and one great harbour, Cadiz, in the south, she was drawn naturally to those over-sea enterprises in which her American dominion began. In addition to these two natural directions of growth, she was suddenly drawn in a third direction, the most important of all. In 1496 Philip the Fair, the son of Maximilian of Austria, married

Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1498 Joanna became the heiress of the Spanish dominions. Thus was brought about in the course of time a union of Spain and Austria which made of the Spanish monarchy a gigantic political force. Spain ceased to be simply an Iberian, Mediterranean, and colonial Power and became part of a great Empire with interests in central and eastern Europe. Thus the activity of France first disturbed the European political system; but the sudden expansion of Spain overturned it.

16, In the British Isles there were two kingdoms—England with her dependencies, Wales and Ireland, of which the latter was but partially subdued, and Scotland, her hostile neighbour. Save that the possession of Berwick was disputed, the frontier between the two had remained unchanged since the reign of Henry II. Their union, though much sought, did not take place until the end of the Tudor period, 1603, when Scotland gave a king to Great Britain, and the complete incorporation of the two kingdoms was not effected for more than another century, 1707. Ireland was conquered in the reign of Henry II; but the actual English dominion was for a long time limited to the Pale, which, until the sixteenth century, fluctuated in extent, and outside of which the country belonged to the Irish. The conquest of the country was completed in the seventeenth century, and in 1800 it was incorporated in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Wales was conquered by Edward I, but was not finally incorporated until 1535, when its division into shires was completed. Of the Welsh Marches, parts formed the new Welsh shires, and parts were added to the bordering English counties. Monmouthshire remained a Welsh county until the reign of Charles II. The Orkney and Shetland Islands had been Norwegian dependencies. They were pledged to Scotland in 1468 and incorporated in the process of time. The English county divisions underwent little change during the Tudor period. Hexhamshire was included in Northumberland in 1572, the franchises of Tynedale and Redesdale after the accession of James I, after which the English and Scottish Marches were called the Middle Shires. During Henry VIII's reign a change was made in the ecclesiastical divisions by the creation of the six new sees of Peterborough, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Westminster, of which the last-named had a life of ten years only. From this time the dioceses remained unchanged till the reign of Queen Victoria¹.

Ever since the conquest of England by Normandy, the kings of England had held some of the great fiefs of France. In the fifteenth century everything was lost, save the seaport town of Calais. England ceased to be a partly insular and partly continental Power, and became wholly

¹ In the map the counties are shown as they were at the completion of the county organisation, the dioceses as they were after Henry VIII's creation of the new sees, except that Westminster is not shown.

insular. Her geographical position would have allowed of her concentrating on insular interests ; but, by long tradition and the possession of a gate of entrance into France, she was drawn towards continental politics. At the end of the fifteenth century, it was a doubtful question whether she would seek the natural development of an insular State, over-sea, following where Portugal and Castile had led, or whether she would take up again her continental ambitions. While commerce had its centre in the Mediterranean, her position did not favour maritime expansion. The discovery of the New World changed the situation, since England was very favourably situated for American enterprise and Atlantic trade. The voyages of Cabot and the discovery of Newfoundland were the starting-point of Greater Britain ; but England's connexion with the Continent during the first half of the sixteenth century remained very close, and reached a climax in her temporary inclusion in the Habsburg Empire on the marriage of Mary Tudor with Philip II of Spain (1554-8). One result of this marriage was the loss of Calais to France in 1558, after 211 years of English occupation. The complete severance from the Continent was followed by the greater maritime enterprise of the later sixteenth century in which the British empire has its origins.

Stretching across central Europe and including all the German States, the Netherlands except Flanders and Artois, the Swiss Confederation, and the North Italian States except Venice, was the Holy Roman Empire. Flanders and Artois, fiefs of France in the fifteenth century, were added in 1526. The Empire was a very loose confederation, and for practical purposes included only the German States and the Netherlands. Outside of these the Imperial authority was scarcely more than nominal. The independence of the Swiss Confederation was virtually recognised in 1499. Only the German part of the Empire had any real unity, and that unity was provided more by common language and tradition than by political institutions or common policy. But, though the Empire as a whole was a weak political force, it was full of life in its various members. The multitude of States of which it was composed ranged in power and importance from great principalities like that of the Dukes of Austria to the territory of a small free town or the manor of an Imperial knight.

The foremost of the princely families of Germany was the House of Habsburg. With it the Imperial crown rested, without interruption, from 1438 to 1740, and again from 1745 until the dissolution of the Empire in 1806. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Habsburg lands consisted of the archduchy of Austria, divided into Upper and Lower Austria, the duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, some possessions in Istria and Friuli, Trieste, the county of Tyrol, the lordship of Vorarlberg, and a group of possessions known as Vorder-oesterreich, which included the Austrian Breisgau, the margravate of

Burgau, the landgrave of Nellenburg, the county of Hohenberg, the five Danube towns, and the landgrave of Lower and Upper Elsass. The duchies and the county of Tyrol formed a compact territory, well suited to become a base of expansion north and south. They were, and have remained, the nucleus of Habsburg power. Frederick III began the greatness of his House by acquiring the Imperial crown and by reuniting nearly all the hereditary possessions which had been distributed among various members of the family. He lost ground in Switzerland, where, after the surrender of the Thurgau to Zurich in 1460, the Habsburgs retained nothing save the Forest Towns of Waldshut, Säckingen, Laufenburg, and Rheinfelden. And, for a time, he was an exile from his capital; for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, conquered Vienna and a part of Austria in 1485, and held it till his death in 1490. But, in 1477, Frederick married his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, and thus obtained so much of the Burgundian inheritance as Louis XI did not seize. Maximilian, who had thus become lord of the Netherlands, Luxemburg, and Franche Comté, acquired Tyrol in 1492; and, when, in the following year, he inherited his father's dominions, all the Habsburg lands were gathered together in his hands. Of these he had a real hold; of the Burgundian inheritance he was but the guardian for his son Philip. Thus, during the fifteenth century, the House of Austria, which had been only a leading princely family, had, by its possession of the Empire and the fortunate amassing of territories, raised itself to a position of equality with the great States of Europe. Other marriages were not only to increase its power to an inordinate extent but also to change its character.

- 6 The territories acquired by Austria in 1477 as her share of the Burgundian inheritance were a part of the extensive, if heterogeneous, dominions which the Dukes of Burgundy had been amassing for more than a century. In 1363 King John of France granted the duchy of Burgundy as an appanage to his son Philip the Bold. By an astute and enterprising policy the Burgundian family proceeded to build up on the eastern frontier of France a great dominion which Charles the Bold all but raised to the position of a Middle Kingdom between France and Germany. Most of the provinces were acquired by the fortune of marriage or inheritance, some by purchase or force of arms; and a settled policy continuously directed the process of acquisition. In 1384, as a result of his marriage with Margaret of Flanders, the richest heiress in Europe, Duke Philip the Good added the county of Flanders with its great centres of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, the county of Artois, and the counties of Burgundy (Franche Comté), Rethel, and Nevers besides several seigneuries. To the duchy of Burgundy he added, in 1390, the barony of Charolais. Philip the Good purchased the county of Namur in 1430, and in the same year inherited from a cousin the duchies of

Brabant and Limburg and the marquisate of Antwerp. In 1433 he added the county of Hainault, which completed his possessions of the southern Netherlands, and the counties of Holland and Zeeland, with a nominal suzerainty over Friesland, which began the expansion of the Burgundian lands into the northern provinces. Holland included Amsterdam, the first seaport in Europe. In 1435, at the Treaty of Arras the King of France pledged to the Duke of Burgundy the towns of Picardy—a series of towns along the Somme from St Quentin to St Valéry at the mouth of the river—which much strengthened the southern frontier of the Burgundian possessions, and also left him in possession of certain territories previously granted by the King of England, including the county of Boulogne, Bar-sur-Seine, and the counties of Mâcon and Auxerre. The Somme towns were redeemed by Louis XI in 1463, but recovered by Charles the Bold in 1465. Their possession was vital to the security of either Power. The last of Duke Philip's acquisitions, made in 1441, was the duchy of Luxemburg, a sparsely peopled land with a fortress capital. Charles the Bold continued his father's work, and pursued with even greater eagerness and success his project of uniting the Burgundian and Netherland parts of his inheritance. He conquered the duchy of Gelderland and the county of Zutphen in 1473, and asserted his authority in the ecclesiastical territories which broke the unity of his dominions. Since 1456, the great see of Utrecht, which included the provinces of Overijssel and Drenthe (the Upper see) 22 and Groningen and Utrecht (the Lower see), had passed entirely under the ducal influence, and Charles, in addition, made the Burgundian Dukes the hereditary protectors of the bishopric of Liége. From 1469 to 1474 he held the landgraviate of Upper Elsass (Sundgau) and the Breisgau, and in 1475 he took possession of the duchy of Lorraine. Death frustrated his ambition of a kingdom of Burgundy or Lorraine on the eve of its realisation.

The desire of the Dukes of Burgundy to link up and consolidate this group of provinces, and to form them into a separate State, arose very naturally out of their position. As vassals of two masters, they were under no effective control. Their possessions were middle regions, which might have formed then, as parts of them have formed since, a State, or States, distinct from France or Germany. They lay on the borderlands of both these realms, where the authority of their overlords would naturally be weakest. And, while they offered in some respects a strange aggregation of various nationalities and diverse institutions, they possessed a sufficient geographical unity to make their political union feasible. The death of Charles the Bold dissolved the idea of a strong middle kingdom, and his dominions have never since owned a common sovereign. Louis XI laid hold of the duchy of Burgundy, the Somme towns, Bar-sur-Seine, Auxerre, Mâcon, Franche Comté, Artois and Charolais—of all those provinces which were nearest and most

important to the strength of the French monarchy. The remainder passed to Austria when Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy. France was not able to retain all she had acquired. Though Louis, at the Treaty of Arras, 1482, maintained his claims on Franche Comté, Artois, and Charolais, Charles VIII, in the Treaty of Senlis, 1493, renounced these provinces. Thus, the bulk of the Burgundian inheritance passed into the German world, though its history had hitherto been more closely bound up with that of France. The ecclesiastical territories of Liége and Utrecht recovered their independence, as also did Gelderland, while Lorraine went back to its Duke.

- 12** This description of the Austrian and Burgundian lands may serve to illustrate the character of the political geography of Germany and the manner in which new States could be formed within its borders. The medieval duchies had broken up into a multiplicity of principalities and lordships, which were continually being subdivided, reunited, and regrouped. After the Emperor, the most important Princes were the Electors. By the Golden Bull of 1356 their number had been fixed at seven and their territories declared to be inalienable and indivisible. Three of them were ecclesiastics—the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier—and four laymen—the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The territories of the ecclesiastical Electors lay on the western frontier of Germany. Trier was a compact State, almost entirely in the valley of the Moselle; Cologne lay along the Rhine from Wesel to Rheinberg, but included also the duchy of Westphalia; Mainz lay principally on the Main, but had in addition the dependencies of Eichsfeld, east of the Werra, and Erfurt in Thuringia.

- The kingdom of Bohemia was a Slavonic Power, brought under German dominion in the tenth century, and always a member of the Empire, though it never lost its separate nationality. The margravate of Moravia had become its dependency in the tenth century, the margravate of Lusatia and the duchy of Silesia in the fourteenth. During the later Middle Ages the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary and the duchy of Austria were on several occasions united either by conquest on the part of one or the other, or by marriage unions; but, in the last half of the fifteenth century, Bohemia had become once more separate under the rule of George Podiebrad (1458–71). For a brief period (1477–90), it lost the greater part of its three dependencies to the conquering arms of Matthias Corvinus. In 1490, on the death of Matthias Corvinus, the crown of Hungary was offered to Podiebrad's successor, Ladislas the Pole, and Bohemia and Hungary became again united. But Ladislas was forced, in 1492, to restore to Austria the conquests of his predecessor on the Hungarian throne in Austria, Styria, and Carinthia; and it was further arranged that, on the extinction of the male line, his territories should pass to the Habsburgs. Brandenburg

scarcely as yet showed promise of a great future. The possessions of 55 the family consisted of the Mark of Brandenburg on the Elbe and Oder, and of the principalities of Ansbach and Baireuth in southern Germany. In 1415 Frederick, Burgrave of Nürnberg, and lord of Ansbach and Baireuth, had been invested with the Electoral Mark, which included Altmark, Priegnitz, Mittelmark, and Uckermark. In addition, the lordships of Cottbus and Peitz in Lower Lusatia were in 1445 acquired from Bohemia. In 1454 the Neumark, pledged to the German Order in 1402, returned to the Hohenzollerns, and the claims of the German Order were finally renounced in 1517. In 1473 the Elector Albert Achilles by his will forbade the partition of the Hohenzollern dominions into more than three parts—Brandenburg, Baireuth, and Ansbach—and declared the Electoral Mark indivisible—a provision which was the indispensable condition of future greatness. The partition of 1473 gave the Mark of Brandenburg, to which the Electorate was attached, to the elder line, and Ansbach and Baireuth to the two younger. Ansbach and Baireuth, united to each other in 1557, were 59 not reunited to the rest of the Hohenzollern dominions until 1791, and have consequently not much influenced the history of Brandenburg. Meanwhile the Mark had begun to grow. Between 1470 and 1486 certain parts of Silesia were acquired, and in 1472 the investiture with Pomerania-Stettin. By treaties of 1493, 1529 and 1571 the right of suzerainty over Pomerania-Stettin was renounced for that of the succession. In 1472, the conquests made by Brandenburg in the Uckermark were confirmed to her, and the frontier between Pomerania and Brandenburg was thus fixed. There followed a series of small additions to the Electoral Mark, the duchy of Krossen in 1482, the lordship of Zossen in 1490, and the county of Ruppin in 1524.

The Rhenish Palatinate was one of the much divided possessions of the House of Wittelsbach. Together with the Upper Palatinate, and the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach, it was held by one branch of the family, while the duchy of Bavaria was held by another. In 1410 the Palatinate inheritance was divided, and, at the end of the fifteenth century, three branches of the family were still ruling in it. In 1559 the Electoral line died out, and the Simmern line inherited the Palatinate.

The Electorate of Saxony was a part of the new Saxony which had grown up in the later Middle Ages on the middle course of the Elbe with its capital at Wittenberg. On the extinction of the Wittenberg line in 1422, Frederick V, of the House of Wettin, received the Electoral dignity. In 1485, the Saxon territories were divided between his two grandchildren, Albert and Ernest, who founded two historical lines, the Albertine and the Ernestine. Ernest received the duchy of Saxony together with the Electoral dignity, southern Thuringia, the north of Meissen, the Vogtland, the Franconian territories, and Coburg; Albert,

the south of Meissen and northern Thuringia; the ecclesiastical territories of Naumburg-Zeitz, Meissen, and Merseburg, the Osterland, and the Pleissnerland were divided.

Of the Princes of the Empire who had seats in the Princely Chamber of the Diet there were about eighty, rather more laymen than ecclesiastics. Amongst the most important was the Duke of Bavaria. In the later fifteenth century, the Bavarian territories were divided between two lines, ruling at Munich and at Landshut. In 1503 the latter died out, and the Munich line united the Bavarian territories, though giving (1507) Sulzbach and Neuburg to the son of the Elector Palatine as a satisfaction of his claims on the Landshut inheritance. The Brunswick family possessed a compact mass of territory lying between the middle course of the Elbe and the Weser. But it had suffered much division. The main line had divided in 1373 into the two lines of Lüneburg and Wolfenbüttel. Wolfenbüttel carried with it the ducal title and the city of Brunswick; Lüneburg was destined to become the electorate, and afterwards the kingdom, of Hanover. In 1495 Wolfenbüttel divided into Wolfenbüttel and Calenberg, in 1569 Lüneburg into New Lüneburg and Dannenberg. In addition there was the Grubenhagen line. In 1584 Wolfenbüttel and Calenberg were reunited, and in 1596 Wolfenbüttel absorbed Grubenhagen. Hesse was divided into two lines in 1458—Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Marburg—the latter of which inherited Katzenellenbogen in 1479. The family territories were reunited in 1500, to be redivided in 1567 amongst four lines, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Marburg, Hesse-Rheinfels, and Hesse-Darmstadt, of which last Hesse-Homburg was a branch-line. Other important princely territories were Baden, Anhalt, Würtemberg and Nassau. Baden lay east of the Upper Rhine, and in 1535 was divided into Baden-Baden and Baden-Pforzheim, or, as it was afterwards called, Baden-Durlach. Anhalt had already divided into several lines of which the Bernburg line died out in 1468, though others remained at Zerbst, Köthen, and Dessau, until all the Anhalt territories were reunited in 1570, only to be redivided in 1603-6 into the same four lines. The county of Würtemberg was declared indivisible in 1482, and in 1495 Count Eberhard was made a Duke. In 1519 Duke Ulrich was expelled, and the duchy was pledged to Austria, and, though the Duke was reinstated in 1534, his territory remained under Austrian suzerainty until 1599. Nassau possessed scattered territories in Westphalia and the Upper Rhenish Circle, divided amongst several branches of the family, to which the House of Nassau-Orange was added in 1530. Two groups of territories on the Lower Rhine—the one, the duchy of Cleve and the county of Mark, united in 1392, the other, the duchies of Jülich and Berg and the county of Ravensberg, united in 1434—were by marriage brought together in 1521. Other princes of importance were the Count of Oldenburg, who acquired Delmenhorst in 1526 and Jever in 1575, the Duke of Lorraine who in 1473 had

acquired the duchy of Bar in France, and the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Pomerania had in 1295 been divided between two lines ruling at Wolgast and at Stettin, but was reunited in the Stettin line in 1464, to be divided again between Stettin and Wolgast in 1531. The position of Holstein requires some special elucidation. The county of Holstein, made a duchy by Imperial grant in 1474, was a member of the Empire. In 1460 it entered into an indissoluble union with the duchy of Schleswig, a fief of the kingdom of Denmark. In the same year the King of Denmark, who was a member of the House of Oldenburg, elected King of Denmark in 1448, was elected Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein, so that Holstein stood in a special and different relation to three other States—the Empire, the kingdom of Denmark, and the duchy of Schleswig. On the west of Holstein was the free republic of Ditmarschen.

A large part of the Empire was under the rule of ecclesiastical Princes, and particularly was this the case with the Rhenish lands. In addition to the electoral territories already mentioned, there were the archbishopric of Salzburg in the south-east of the Empire, almost enclosed in Habsburg territory; the Franconian bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, that rivalled the Rhenish archbishoprics; the Netherland bishoprics of Utrecht and Liège, the former large, the latter rich; the huge bishoprics of Münster, Osnabrück, and Paderborn, and the smaller see of Minden, which included between them most of the north-western corner of the Empire; the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, lying between the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe; the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Halberstadt south of Brandenburg and Brunswick; Schwerin and Ratzeburg in Mecklenburg; Lübeck in Holstein; Cammin in Pomerania; Naumburg-Zeitz, Meissen, and Merseburg in Saxony; Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine; Speier, Strassburg, Basel, and Constance, on the Upper Rhine; Augsburg, Eichstadt, Ratisbon, and Passau on the frontiers of Bavaria; Freising, Brixen, and Trent in the Habsburg territories. The bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus were too much under the control of the Electors of Brandenburg to be counted as separate States. Amongst the great abbeys those of Fulda, the largest and most famous of German houses, and Hersfeld, both south of Hesse, and Ellwangen in Suabia call for special mention.

After the princely States came the Free Imperial towns. Of these, there were in the later fifteenth century about eighty. They ranged in importance from great commercial towns possessing considerable territories, such as Hamburg, Bremen, and Nürnberg, to the little towns of Suabia. The great majority were situated in southern or western Germany. Amongst them were Aachen, Dortmund, Cologne, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Weissenburg (Alsace), Hagenau, Strassburg, Offenburg, Schlettstadt, Colmar, Freiburg, Mülhausen (Alsace), Besançon, Worms,

Landau, Speier, Wimpfen, Heilbronn, Hall, Aalen, Esslingen, Gmünd, Nördlingen, Weissenburg (Nordgau), Nürnberg, Rottenburg, Windsheim, Augsburg, Donauwörth, Memmingen, Biberach, Leutkirch, Kaufbeuren, Kempten, Isny, Wangen, Lindau, Ravensburg, Constance, Überlingen, Pfullendorf, Rottweil, Ulm, Reutlingen, Weil, Frankfort, Schweinfurt, Friedberg, Wetzlar, Mühlhausen (Thuringia), Nordhausen, Goslar, Lübeck, Hainburg, Bremen, Ratisbon. Weakest of all the independent rulers were the Imperial Knights. They had preserved their independence, for the most part, only in south-western Germany. Often they possessed little more than a village or two. They were organised in cantons, which were grouped in the three Circles of the Rhine, Franconia, and Suabia.

Thus, Germany at the end of the fifteenth century formed a strange world of States. The medieval duchies had broken up into principalities, lordships, and communes too numerous to mention. In this chaos there was a liability to political change and room for growth. Yet, of the States that were to arise within the Empire—some to make themselves free of its authority, others to remain nominally dependent—of Holland, Switzerland, and Brandenburg, only Switzerland gave signs of the future towards which she was advancing. Austria, girdling Germany on the west, the south, and part of the east, stood out most conspicuously. It was still an open question whether she might not be powerful enough to unite the Empire more closely, and form of it a strong State, capable of playing a part in the politics of Europe by

- 5** the side of the new monarchies of France and Spain. Maximilian I made an attempt to improve the machinery of government, and for this purpose divided the Empire into a number of Circles. Not every part was included. Bohemia and her dependencies, Switzerland, and the Italian States, with the exception of Savoy, remained outside the new organisation. Six of the Circles were formed in 1500, viz. (1) Bavaria, embracing Bavaria and Salzburg, (2) Suabia—Würtemberg, Baden, the bishopric of Augsburg and many Imperial cities, (3) Franconia—Würzburg, Bamberg, Ansbach, and Baireuth, (4) the Upper Rhine—Zweibrücken, Lorraine, and part of Elsass, (5) Westphalia—Jülich, Cleve, Berg, Mark, also Liège and other bishoprics, (6) Lower Saxony—Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Bremen, Magdeburg, and some cities. In 1512, four more Circles were created to include the electoral and Habsburg territories, viz. (1) the Lower Rhine, embracing the four Rhenish electorates; (2) Upper Saxony—the Electorate of Saxony and Brandenburg, and Pomerania; (3) Burgundy—the Austrian dominions of the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Franche Comté; (4) the Austrian—the remainder of the Austrian territory, with the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen. An eleventh was added for the immediate Imperial territory. In each Circle the governing authority was responsible for the police, and for administrative and military affairs. The organisation was got into working order in 1521, but was never very successful. The attempt

to strengthen and unite the Empire by the improvement of Imperial machinery was doomed to failure. Germany did not follow the general tendency towards political consolidation which would have given her a definite and powerful policy and place in Europe. The rivalries of her component parts—of Emperor and Princes, of Princes and Towns and Knights, caused fatal disunion. Whether she would have overcome this political tendency is doubtful; but, while the matter was in debate, the Reformation spread through the country, and, allying with the separatist aspirations of the Princes, divided Germany irremediably and permanently against herself.

Already in the fifteenth century, one part of the Empire was breaking away from the main body. The independence of the Swiss Confederation received a partial recognition in 1477 and in 1499, though it was never openly acknowledged. The Confederation had its origin in the league of three mountain communities for resisting the oppression of their Habsburg rulers. Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden formed the original political centre of the State, as they formed always its geographical centre. Neighbouring towns and territories joined them—Luzern in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, Bern, with its own allies and subjects, in 1353—making up the eight ancient cantons. Five more were afterwards added—Freiburg and Solothurn in 1481, Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501, Appenzell in 1513—and at the number of thirteen the cantons remained until the changes made in the Revolutionary period. The Confederation, however, comprised not only cantons but also allies and subjects—who might be allies or subjects of one or more members of the Confederation or of the whole Confederation—with a consequent strange complexity of political relations. The allied districts were the Valais from 1416, the abbey of St Gallen with the county of Toggenburg from 1451, the town of St Gallen from 1454, the Grisons, which was itself a federation of three Leagues—the Upper League, the League of God's House, and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions—formed in 1471 on the eastern borders of Switzerland and attached to some of the Swiss cantons from 1497–8, the Imperial towns of Mülhausen from 1518 to 1587, Rottweil from 1519 to 1632, the city of Geneva from 1526, the territory of Biel or Bienne from 1529, and the principality of Neufchâtel from 1529 till its acquisition by Prussia in 1707. The more important of the subject lands were in the north. Aargau and Thurgau, and other districts, were conquered from the House of Austria by Bern and Zurich in 1415 and 1460 respectively, an acquisition which gave the Confederation for a time the Lake of Constance and the Rhine as its northern frontier. In 1441 Uri acquired the Val Levantina, and the Confederation made its first gains in Italian territory. More important were the conquests of detached Savoyard territories north of Lake Geneva: such as Grandson, Morat, Orbe, and Aigle, which Bern

and Freiburg, not at the time a member of the league, made in 1475–6 during the war with Charles the Bold, and the gains, also from Savoy, made by the Valais, which, like the conquests of Freiburg, were afterwards added to the Confederation. In Italy, Bellinzona was acquired in 1500; and, in 1512, a considerable cession of Milanese territory, including the Val Maggia, Locarno and Lugano, was made to the Confederation as a reward for their services to Sforza; while the Grisons, in 1513, acquired the Valtelline, with Chiavenna and Bormio. Soon after, Bern, Freiburg, and the Valais expelled Savoy from all its territories north of the Lake of Geneva and from some of those to the south, and added Vaud, Chablais, and the bishopric of Lausanne, to Confederate territory. Not all of these last gains however were retained. In 1567, Chablais and Gex were restored to Savoy. The last acquisition before the Revolution was made in 1554, when Bern and Freiburg divided between them the county of Gruyères (Greyerz).

By this series of alliances and conquests a strange State was built up. Arising in an area where three countries met—France, Germany, and Italy—the Swiss Confederation bore a threefold character, and the contrast between the German east and the French west represents a division that is one of the most essential facts of Swiss history. Moreover the frontiers of Switzerland were most anomalous and illustrated the piecemeal way in which the State was formed. At Schaffhausen it stretched beyond the Rhine, at Lugano it descended the Alps into the Italian plains. A union, as it was, of small communities for self-defence, no principle of nationality or geography governed its configuration; and the limits of its expansion were fixed by the weakness of its own constitutional system and its consequent inability to grow great, rather than by the power of its neighbours or the barriers of nature.

- 4 In Italy, as in the other western countries, a tendency to political consolidation had shown itself in the later Middle Ages. But there had been no such tendency to the union of Italy as a whole, as to the union of France, or of the Iberian peninsula. Italy was only “a geographical expression”; but, within it, had grown up a group of States which formed a political system of their own. This was to some extent a result of geographical conditions. Parted from the rest of Europe by a formidable mountain barrier, it was able to have a separate political life; and since it was internally much divided, political divisions tended to follow to some extent geographical. In the continental north is the great plain of Lombardy, the seat of Milan, of the land power of Venice, and of the Italian dominions of Savoy. In the peninsula are three plains of importance, all on the western side, for the Apennines tend to follow the eastern coast—the plain of the Arno, where Florence grew up, the plain of the Tiber, where was Rome, the head of the Papal States, and the plain of Capua, the centre of the kingdom of Naples. Thus all the great States of Italy were formed

in the great plains. Historical conditions also had been unfavourable to the idea of Italian unity. The Imperial traditions and connexions of Italy, as well as the spiritual power of the Papacy, had been destructive of the sense of national separateness and the temporal power of the Papacy had also been a powerful obstacle to unity. Moreover, the course of history had sundered the different parts of Italy from each other, created opposed interests, and led to wars of conquest and aggrandisement. Thus a group of separate Powers had been formed, whose boundaries corresponded neither to geographical features, nor historical territories, nor ecclesiastical divisions, but might be regarded at any particular moment as a result of the balance of rival military strength.

At the end of the fifteenth century there were some half-dozen leading Powers—Savoy, Milan, Venice, Florence, the Papal States and Naples—which overshadowed all the others. In the middle of the Po valley the Visconti family had built up the State of Milan, annexing all the neighbouring small municipalities and principalities, and changing the city republic into a duchy. In 1490, their territories stretched across the Po from Pontremoli in the south to Bormio and the sources of the Adda in the north. They included Novara and Alessandria in the west, Parma and Piacenza in the east. The Milanese had no natural frontiers. Its expansion was checked by contact with other expanding States. Hence its conquests, though easy to make, proved difficult to hold. In Tuscany, Florence was carrying out a consolidating work like that of Milan in Lombardy. Her territory grew continually during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though little increase was made under the rule of the Medici 1433–94, as compared with the growth of Milan under the rule of the Visconti. Most of the northern cities of Tuscany, including Pisa, Volterra, Arezzo, and Pistoia, but not Lucca, had passed under her sway; in the south Piombino and Siena amongst other places had as yet escaped absorption. Though in fact a monarchy, Florence had not, like Milan, been transformed from a city State into a duchy.

The Papal States stretched across the centre of the peninsula and northwards, on its western side, to the valley of the Po. They were an artificial aggregation of territories, without any sort of geographical unity, such as Milan and Florence possessed. They included Emilia, Romagna, the Marches of Ancona, Umbria, Sabina, Campagna, and the Patrimony of St Peter—a group of districts which no natural boundary enclosed. Politically, they exhibited the greatest diversity. Some districts were governed by powerful communes, others by great monasteries; parts were held by powerful feudal lords, and papal vicars ruled in other places. In Emilia and the Romagna, the part of the valley of the Po which lay within the Papal States, the Pope had no authority. Flourishing communes, such as Bologna and Imola, divided the country

among themselves. Here and in the Marches the tyrants or papal vicars were especially powerful. A branch of the family of Malatesta at one time held many of these towns. Urbino, the chief town of the Montefeltro family, became a separate duchy in 1478, a fief of the Papal States, but distinct. In 1513 it fell to the Rovere family, and was not annexed to the Papal States until 1631. Similarly, Ferrara was held as a papal fief by the House of Este. In Umbria, the greater part of the land was subject to large communes, of which the most important was Perugia, which possessed a sort of suzerainty over the other Umbrian towns. Other important towns were Spoleto, and Orvieto. In the Campagna and the Patrimony of St Peter the great feudal lords predominated. The most famous of these were the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, and Gaetani. Only in Rome did the Pope really rule, and Sixtus IV was the first Pope of whom this can be truly asserted. Two enclaves of ecclesiastical territory, Ponte Corvo and Benevento, lay within the kingdom of Naples. Thus the Papal States were a collection of States of varying degrees of independence, and the papal rule, though not a recent growth like that of the Visconti and Medici, could not compare with theirs for strength and solidity. Nominally the sovereign of a considerable territory, the Pope saw his possessions really in the hands of independent communes and a lawless baronage.

The kingdom of Naples at the southern extremity of the peninsula was the largest of the Italian States. Cut off from the active politics of the north, and not rich enough to be great, it played only a secondary part in the affairs of Italy. Almost surrounded by the sea, and not a maritime Power, it had been easy of access to the foreign invader. Together with Sicily, it had been conquered by the Normans in the eleventh century and made a dependency of the Holy See. Two centuries later, it was conquered by the Angevins, who, however, lost Sicily, in 1282, to the House of Aragon. In 1435 Naples itself passed to Aragon, and it was handed over to a branch of that House in 1458. In spite of the frequent change of rulers, Naples had preserved its frontiers unchanged, while the other great States of Italy had been rising and falling. Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, it was closely connected with, though not, like Sicily since 1282, and Sardinia since 1420, a part of, the kingdom of Aragon.

3 Venice and Genoa, both city States, and both Imperial cities, suggest a contrast and a parallel. Both held possessions in the eastern Mediterranean. The dominion of Genoa was in the Black Sea and the Aegean, that of Venice in the Adriatic, the Levant, and the Aegean. In the Black Sea Genoa held Amastris and Caffa, besides Galata by Constantinople, and the large Aegean islands Chios and Lesbos. But, like Venice, she had fallen back before the Ottoman advance. She lost Lesbos in the Aegean in 1462, though she retained Chios until 1566. On the

mainland, enclosed by mountains, she never had quite the same opportunity of or necessity for acquiring dominion as Venice. But she had naturally laid hold of the island of Corsica, which, in the hands of a hostile Power, would have been dangerous to the security of her trade. The land dominion of Venice had been acquired during the fifteenth century for the protection of the city and of the overland trade routes to northern Europe, of which one passed through the Ampezzo valley to Innsbruck and Munich, and another up the Po to Bergamo, the Splügen, and Constance. It was essential to Venice to check the expansion of Milan over Lombardy and to command the rivers and land northwards to the Alps. Between 1408 and 1454, by wars with Milan, she conquered Brescia and Bergamo as well as Padua, Verona, and Vicenza, and brought her frontiers to the river Adda. In 1420, she conquered Friuli and extended her territory northwest to the Carnic Alps; in 1441, Ravenna, the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire in Italy; and, in 1480, in a war with Ferrara, she acquired Rovigo on the Adige and the Polesine and brought her frontiers to the Po. Thus she held a great part of Lombardy, from Bergamo and Crema in the west to Friuli and Aquileia in the east, though the bishopric of Trent, Lake Garda, and the marquisate of Mantua almost divided her territory into two parts. But the chief interests of Venice were outside of Italy. Her mainland territories were not the original nucleus of her empire, but a late appendage. Venice was a great 3 maritime State, whose field of dominion lay in the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean. Her over-sea possessions were of a character natural to a commercial and maritime Power—islands, strips of coast, and strategic points of the mainland. Extending down the Adriatic, round the Morea, through the Aegean and the Levant, they gave her control of these seas and of the trade routes between western Europe and Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. Trieste was a Habsburg possession, and thus Venetian territory did not extend uninterruptedly round the head of the Adriatic; but Istria, with Pola, was Venetian, as also were most of the islands off the coast immediately to the south, but not any of the mainland, for in these parts, Hungary came down to the sea. A little to the south, near Zara, began Venetian Dalmatia. On the Dalmatian coast, Venice and Hungary struggled for mastery during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Venice acquired a nearly continuous control of the coast from Trieste to Albania. The independent republic of Ragusa, at one time a rival, broke the continuity of her dominions on the Dalmatian coast; but Cattaro with its deep harbour was Venetian. On the Albanian coast, she held Antivari and Durazzo, among other places. Of the Ionian islands, she acquired Corfu in 1386 and others in 1449. In the Aegean, after the Fourth Crusade, she had made great gains, which included Lemnos, Negropont, occupied in 1390, and other islands. In the Levant, she acquired Candia in 1208; and Cyprus, which came under

her immediate influence in 1473, she finally annexed in 1488. In addition to the islands and ports which she possessed, she had treaty rights in many eastern towns—in Salonika, Constantinople, Tana, Caffa, Trebizond, Alexandria, Cairo, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

The growth of Venice belongs to medieval history. At the end of the fifteenth century she had reached the zenith of her power. Already she was beginning to lose ground to the Turks, who were advancing in the Aegean and the Balkan peninsula. Negropont was lost to them in 1470, and, when Venice made peace in 1479, she sacrificed in addition Skutari, Brazzo, and various places which the Turks had occupied in the Morea. On the mainland, too, her position was precarious. Her continual expansion, induced by her want of natural frontiers, made her seem an ambitious Power, and had drawn on her the suspicion of the other Italian States.

25 Savoy hardly belonged to the Italian political system. In the fifteenth century she was a middle State, as much Burgundian as Italian. But her direction of growth was towards Italy; and, in the long run, it was Savoy, not Venice, Milan, Florence, or Naples which brought about the unity of Italy. Savoy lay astride of the Alps, as Navarre of the Pyrenees, and was strong enough to gain importance from the geographical advantage of a strategic position commanding most of the Alpine passes between France and Italy. Her territories fell into two parts. North of the Alps were the duchy of Savoy, the controlling centre of the whole, Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex, lying between the Rhone and the Saône, and, bordering the Lake of Geneva for the most part to the north, Vaud and the Lower Valais. In Italy, her principal possessions were in Piedmont, where she had gained a footing in the eleventh century and had steadily increased her power at the expense of Milan, Saluzzo, Provence, and Montferrat, reaching the Mediterranean at Nice, and reducing Saluzzo, Montferrat, and Tenda to the position of dependencies. The Savoyard territories had thus no natural unity, and were very decisively divided by the Alps. Savoy had several possible directions of expansion; but the consolidation of France on her western frontier, and the growth of the Swiss Confederation, which took from her Grandson, Morat, Orbe, Echallens, Aigle, and the Lower Valais in 1475–6, were already forcing her to find her future field of growth on the Italian side of the Alps where the political conditions offered a more favourable opportunity.

Of the minor States, the Este, who held Modena and Reggio of the Emperor, and Ferrara of the Pope, had a considerable territory in the valley of the Po; the Gonzagas, who held Mantua, had an important strategic position; Lucca, though suffering at the hands of the Este and Medici, remained a distinct commonwealth; Siena still held a large part of Tuscany; Piombino was under the protection of Florence.

Thus Italy formed a political world in herself, with her own great and small States—the great States intent on maintaining a balance of power. No prospect of voluntary union appeared. The equal strength of Milan, Venice, Florence, and Naples prevented any gathering of the States round a common centre, which alone could form in Italy a political power equal to that of the new States rising around her.

In the south-eastern corner of Europe, the political position had been steadily changing during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A new Power, the Ottoman Turks, Mongolian in race and Mohammadan in religion, had entered Europe as the natural enemy of its Christian States. Advancing irresistibly westward, they swept away the kingdoms which had been formed in the later Middle Ages on the ruins of the East Roman Empire. Their dominions centred round the Aegean and the Black Sea, whence they were expelling the Venetians and the Genoese. They subjected, but did not absorb, the Christian nations of the Balkan peninsula—Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians. Though an Asiatic Power in origin, they were at the end of the fifteenth century firmly planted in Europe, and no limit could as yet be seen to their expansion. The order of their conquests had been as follows. Entering Europe in 1354, they captured Adrianople, which they made their capital, in 1360. The Latin principalities speedily succumbed. In 1389, Servia was defeated and surrendered Macedonia, though she remained independent herself; Wallachia became dependent in 1391, Thessaly was annexed in 1393, Bulgaria conquered by 1398, while the duchy of Athens, the principality of Achaia, and the despotate of Mistra became vassal States. Thus, before the end of the fourteenth century, the Turks had annexed or reduced to dependence all the *hinterland* of the Balkan peninsula to the frontiers of Hungary, had hemmed in Constantinople, and even reached, on the south, the Gulf of Corinth. In the early fifteenth century they suffered some loss in Asia; but they made advances in Greek and Albanian lands which brought them to the Adriatic. The principalities of Achaia, northern Epirus, and Salonika were conquered by 1430, Acarnania, Aetolia, and Arta in 1449; Constantinople was captured in 1453; Moldavia became tributary in 1456; Servia, except Belgrade, was annexed in 1459, the duchy of Athens in 1460, most of Bosnia in 1463, and Herzegovina in 1483. Montenegro, which took shape as a separate State on the break-up of the Servian empire, succeeded in maintaining her independence. In Dalmatia, the Turks slowly acquired the Bosnian and Hungarian districts; but Venice clung to the great coast towns. These conquests on the mainland were accompanied and followed by conquests in the islands and the Black Sea, and of Venetian posts in Dalmatia, Albania, and the Morea. In the northern Aegean Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos were acquired in 1456–7; Trebizond, on the Black Sea littoral, in 1461; Lesbos in 1462;

Negropont in 1470. These losses, together with those of Skutari and Kroja and the Maina district in the Morea, were recognised by Venice at the Peace of 1479. In the same year, the Turks seized Zante, Cephalonia, and Santa Maura, and in 1481 crossed the Adriatic, occupied Otranto, and seemed about to begin in Italy what they had completed in the Balkan peninsula. But, after 1481, their advance in Europe halted for a time, and, in 1485, Venice recovered Zante. In 1499–1500, however, the Turks continued their advance, and though, in 1502, Venice recovered Cephalonia and temporarily occupied Santa Maura, the latter was regained by them in the Peace of 1502, when they kept the places which they had conquered, and Lepanto on the Gulf of Corinth. Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, no position of equilibrium had been reached in south-eastern Europe, and the line at which Venice on the south, and Hungary, now that she had lost Matthias Corvinus, in the north, could stay the advance of the Turks had still to be found.

- 21** It is to Hungary that we must now turn our attention. The kingdom of Hungary was founded in the ninth century by the Magyars, who occupied the valleys of the Danube and Theiss, and thereby divided the northern Slavs of Bohemia and Poland from the southern Slavs of Servia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. By accepting Christianity from Rome they entered the more easily into the western political system. The strongest Power on the mainland in south-eastern Europe, they made extensive conquests, though their possession of them was not continuous. By the end of the fourteenth century, they had added part of Dalmatia, Poland, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and had flanked their territories with protected areas in what are now Bosnia, Servia, and Roumania. Even beyond these marches lay a number of vassal States. In the fifteenth century, Hungary lost ground to Venice in Dalmatia, and to the Ottoman Turks in the Balkan peninsula, and pledged the county of Zips to Poland in 1412. Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) raised his kingdom once more to a dominant position in eastern Europe; stemmed the tide of Ottoman invasion; conquered parts of Bosnia and Servia in 1479; made Moldavia and Wallachia Hungarian dependencies in 1468; took Silesia, Lusatia, and Moravia from Bohemia in 1477, and Lower Austria, including Vienna, from the Emperor in 1485. He also so far strengthened the system of county government that Hungary tended to become a group of some fifty independent communities. But the greatness which Corvinus won for Hungary was destined to be brief. The Bohemian and Austrian conquests could not be maintained, with the Turk pressing on the southern frontier. At the end of the fifteenth century, Hungary was in a precarious position.

- 1** North-eastern Europe almost formed a political system of its own, of which the Baltic, round whose shores all the North-Eastern Powers were grouped, and for whose control they contended, formed the centre. In the first half of the twelfth century, no Teutonic Power, German or

Scandinavian, had any lasting hold of any part of the eastern Baltic. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Sweden conquered Finland, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries two German religious Orders, which had united in 1237—the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Order—conquered Prussia, Livonia, Estonia, Courland, Semigallia, the islands of Dago and Ösel, Pomerelia, Gothland for a time, and Samogitia, and built up a great dominion on the eastern and southern Baltic. In the fifteenth century, the power of the Orders was diminished. In 1410, by the First Peace of Thorn, Lithuania recovered Samogitia from the Sword Knights, and thus separated the Livonian and Prussian lands of the Orders. In 1466, by the Second Peace of Thorn, Poland gained from them West Prussia (Culm and Pomerelia with the cities of Danzig and Thorn) and Ermeland a part of East Prussia, while the remainder of East Prussia was retained by the Teutonic Order as a Polish fief. This expansion of Poland and Lithuania was a recovery of territory that had been lost in the preceding century. The kingdom of Poland, founded in the tenth century, had grown rapidly for a time, until weakened by division and cut off from the Baltic by the German Orders. The neighbouring State of Lithuania, a fellow sufferer at the hands of the Knights, had risen to importance in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, Lithuania made gains at the expense of her Russian neighbours, while Poland lost Silesia to Bohemia in 1335, and Pomerelia to the German Order in 1343, though, like Lithuania, it grew in the south-east at the expense of Russia. Lithuania even extended as far south as the Black Sea, though her Black Sea territory was lost in 1474. In 1386 the two States were united by the marriage of the Duke of Lithuania with the Queen of Poland. In the fifteenth century they recovered their position on the Baltic, and Poland continued to expand at the cost of Russia. In 1471 Ladislas of Poland was elected to the Crown of Bohemia and in 1491 to that of Hungary, so that at the end of the fifteenth century Poland with Lithuania was the most formidable of the Baltic Powers. She had great possessions, vast size and continuity of territory; but she was weak from the want of defensible frontiers and natural boundaries. Thus, during the fifteenth century, the balance of power on the Baltic had been decisively changed; but new developments in Russia and Scandinavia threatened new changes. The union of Poland and Lithuania, which was only personal at first and often interrupted, became from 1501 continuous, and in 1569 the two States were incorporated by the Union of Lublin.

Beyond Poland and Lithuania, in the great plains that stretch from northern Asia into the heart of Europe, there was in process of formation at this time a State destined later to take a foremost place in the European polity. The Muscovite empire was formed by a union of Slavonic principalities which had a certain cohesion in common race, language and religion, a common princely stock, a unity of historical

development, and the primacy of the Grand Princes at Kieff. The chief of these principalities were Novgorod the Great, Kieff, Smolensk and Moscow; while others of importance were Tver, Viatka, Pskoff, Jaroslavl and Chernigoff. In a land of plains like eastern Europe the rivers were of the greatest importance. On the great rivers of Russia were formed the original centres of her history, and they determined the character and direction of her growth. Novgorod the Great, on the Ilmen, near the Valdai plateau—a dominant point in the river system of Russia—commanded at once an inlet to the whole of Russia and an outlet to the sea through the network of streams which ends in the Neva. St Petersburg in the eighteenth century, like Novgorod in the ninth, took advantage of the commercial and political value of this position. Kieff was on the Dnieper, whose course drew it to the Black Sea and the Byzantine world. The fertility of the Black Land and the proximity to the Eastern Empire gave it supremacy over the other Russian principalities. Smolensk, also, was on the Dnieper, but further north and with a commanding central position, near to the source of the other great Russian rivers, the westward flowing Düna and the eastward flowing Volga. In the middle of the twelfth century, the Grand Princes moved their capital to the Moskowa, a tributary of the Oka, a sub-tributary of the Volga. A State centred at Moscow was far removed from the Western world. Moreover, it had no natural frontiers. It might advance in time over the southern steppes to the Black Sea; but its easiest direction of expansion would be down the Volga to the Caspian and endlessly northwards into northern Asia. Before the dawn of modern history, the loosely united Russian principalities suffered a threefold conquest. In the thirteenth century, the German Order conquered the north-western principalities, introduced German civilisation and planted a strong power between Russia and the Baltic. In the same century, the Mongols conquered the eastern group of principalities which formed Great Russia. In the early fourteenth century, the Lithuanians made considerable conquests in West and South Russia in the neighbourhood of Kieff. Thus Russia was divided into two parts—Great or Eastern Russia, with its centre in Moscow subject to the Tartars, and Little Russia, attached to Poland and Lithuania. In the process by which Russia has been built up we may observe the union of the principalities, the establishment of their independence, the recovery of conquered Russian land, and the ceaseless expansion of the Russian people. The shape and the extent of the Russian empire has been largely determined by geographical conditions. Russia is as closely connected with Asia as she is with Europe, for the gentle slopes of the Urals offer but the slightest barrier, and she is thus at once exposed to Asiatic invasion and invited to Asiatic expansion—both of which have played a large part in her history. In European Russia, all the mountain ranges lie on the frontiers. Between the Carpathians and the Urals, the Caucasus and the mountains of Finland, nature has left an

immense area round which these ranges form a girdle. It was natural that this huge area should form a single State, and equally natural that Russia should advance over the open plains and forests of central and northern Asia to the Hindu Kush and the Pacific. And, further, the conditions imposed on the country certain political tendencies. So vast an inland demanded outlets, both in Europe and Asia. Hence, north, south, east, and west, Russia has advanced towards the sea. While political necessity has compelled her to seek a sure frontier, economic necessity has compelled her to find not only new areas for her ever-growing population, but also outlets for her trade and for a civilising intercourse with other nations.

Russian unity was brought about by the Princes of Moscow, who gradually gathered the other States round Moscow. It was not a difficult task, as the principalities were but artificial divisions of one country and one race. Ivan III (1462–1505) annexed in the north-west Novgorod the Great, the lord of Northern Russia to the Urals, in 1478, and Tver in 1485; in the north-east Viatka in 1489; in the north Jaroslavl and Rostoff; in the south-west Chernigoff. In 1480, he threw off the Tartar yoke and thus gave Russia independence as well as unity. The Golden Horde broke up into a number of smaller khanates—Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea, and Siberia—the ruins of a great Power. Ivan's son Basil (1505–33) acquired Pskoff, Smolensk, and Novgorod Sieverski, thus uniting nearly all the Russian principalities. At his death the Muscovite empire extended from Chernigoff to the White Sea, and from the borders of Livonia to the river Kama. For the Russian land lost to Lithuania ceaseless wars were waged between Poland and Russia for 200 years, Russia alternately recovering and losing her western provinces. In 1484, the river Desna was fixed as the boundary; in 1503, the river Sozh. Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, Russia had just attained unity, and, throwing off her Asiatic conquerors, had become an independent State. Lying practically in the basin of the Volga, she had no outlets to the sea and no connexion with western Europe. Her great work of conquest and expansion had scarcely begun.

Of the Scandinavian kingdoms little need be said at this point. At the close of the fifteenth century, they were united in a precarious and unsatisfactory union. This union, the Union of Calmar, had lasted since 1397. Before its formation, Denmark had been generally the most powerful of the three kingdoms, and more than once had almost acquired complete control of the Baltic. But the German Orders, which threatened her power in Estonia, Sweden, which contested with her the possession of the southern provinces of Scandinavia, and the Hanse Towns, which constituted a great political force, set limits to her greatness. In 1397, the three kingdoms had agreed to an irrevocable union under a common sovereign, each retaining its own laws and institutions. Norway, the poorest of

the three, threw in her lot permanently with Denmark (1450), which alone gained by the union. Sweden, dissatisfied with her position, was from the middle of the fifteenth century generally under her own administrators. In 1448, a member of the House of Oldenburg was elected to the crown of the three kingdoms, and in 1460 he became in addition Count of Holstein and Duke of Schleswig, which two States in that year entered into an indissoluble union with each other. Round the Baltic the whole situation lacked stability. The division of territory between the three Scandinavian kingdoms followed no natural boundaries, and their union was straining asunder. The German Orders which held so much of the Baltic coast were declining, while behind them was Russia, rapidly consolidating, and Poland near to the zenith of her power.

SECTION II.

THE AGE OF HABSBURG POWER AND OF THE REFORMATION.

A. EUROPE.

SOMETHING must now be said of the formation of the Habsburg Empire. Great aggregations of power were a new feature in European history. By a strange and fortuitous sequence of events in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century there was formed a mighty State, which, overshadowing at once western and eastern Europe, exercised for more than a century a dominant influence on the European political system. Spain drove France out of southern Italy; but it was the Habsburg Empire which decided the political fate of Italy until the nineteenth century, and which put an end to French hopes of expansion south of the Alps. In Germany, the Habsburg Empire and the Reformation were the chief forces that controlled the growth and form of the German States. In south-eastern Europe, the Habsburgs represented the Western world against the Eastern, and divided political power with the Turk. By the balance of strength between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, the political division of south-eastern Europe and the western Mediterranean on the African littoral was determined. In the Netherlands, the religious policy of the Habsburgs provoked a revolt which, growing into a war of independence, resulted in the formation of the maritime State of the United Netherlands. So, too, by a reaction against their power England in self-defence was driven to the sea and began her transformation into Greater Britain. Thus the Habsburg Empire united Spain, settled the political system of Italy, checked the expansion of France, resisted the advance of the Turks, and played a part in the growth of Switzerland, the disintegration of Germany, the formation of Holland, and the foundation of Greater Britain. Each of these developments is a stage in the shaping of Europe.

The growth of the Habsburg Empire has already been traced through its earlier stages—to its rise to a great height as a German and Burgundian power. In 1490, the Habsburgs were exclusively a German

Power. In 1496, Maximilian married his son Philip to Joanna of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1498, Joanna became the heiress of the Spanish monarchy. Philip died in 1506; but he left a son, Charles, who, on the death of Ferdinand of Spain in 1516, and of his grandfather Maximilian in 1519, inherited both the Spanish and Austrian dominions. In this union there was a certain homogeneity of race and civilisation between the Burgundian and Austrian lands; for both were chiefly German, nor were they very remote from each other; but the addition of the Spanish dominions, including most of the Iberian peninsula and Roussillon, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and Sicily in the Mediterranean, the recently conquered kingdom of Naples in Italy, and the rapidly expanding conquests in America, gave a new character to the Habsburg Empire, which, henceforward, appeared rather as an aggregation of territories than an organic State. One other marriage was of great importance. In 1521 Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, married Anne, the sister of Lewis, King of Hungary and Bohemia since 1516. Anne was not at the time the heiress, but in 1526, at the battle of Mohács, the male line of the Hungarian royal House was destroyed, and the two kingdoms were driven by necessity to elect Ferdinand as their ruler. Bohemia and its dependencies, Transylvania, and such part of Hungary as the Turks did not conquer, were thus added to the Habsburg dominions. It was not the first time that Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia had been brought together, but this time it was to be a lasting union. The Habsburg Empire now consisted of a group of kingdoms, duchies, and counties, drawn together by every process by which territory is gained, inhabited by diverse races, situated in various parts of Europe and America, and having no natural connexion with each other, in many cases no other tie save that of a common head. Other features combined to give this strange Empire its unique character. The possession of the Empire gave it a power over, and a responsibility for, the political system of Germany, as well as a duty with regard to the Catholic Church, while the distribution of its territories drew it into Western and Eastern European problems. Austria thus became the centre of world politics. In the Colonial world, in the Mediterranean, in western, southern, and south-eastern Europe it had vital interests. Only from the contest for the Baltic did it at present stand aside.

26 In the course of the sixteenth century the Italian dominions grew. In 1500, Maximilian acquired Aquileia on the north-east Adriatic, and thus strengthened the Habsburg power between the Venetian possessions in Istria and Lombardy. Ferdinand conquered Naples by 1505. Charles added the duchy of Milan—diminished, indeed, by cessions to the Swiss in 1512 and 1513, and by the transference of Parma and Piacenza to the Pope in 1515—and gave to Spain a predominance in Italy.

On the resignation of Charles in 1556, the Habsburg Empire divided into the Spanish and Austrian branches. Though the two branches worked together for a long time, the great collection of dominions no longer owned a common lord. To the Spanish branch went Spain, the Netherlands, Franche Comté, the Italian and Mediterranean possessions, and the New World—to Austria the remainder—the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the group of Austrian duchies, and the outlying possessions in Suabia and Elsass.

With the division of the Empire the decline of the western branch began. In 1581, the northern provinces of the Netherlands renounced their allegiance. In 1580, Portugal was acquired and the political unity of the Spanish peninsula was established for sixty years. In the seven- 46
teenth century, France took from Spain Roussillon, Franche Comté, Artois, and other frontier districts of the Netherlands, while France, England, and Holland challenged her colonial power. In the early 51
eighteenth century, she was deprived of all her European possessions outside of the Spanish peninsula, save some of the Balearic Isles. Austria took her place in Italy and the Southern Netherlands, while England took Minorca for a time, and Gibraltar for good. By 1715, the western branch of the Habsburgs had sunk very low. The eastern branch was more fortunate. Though the power of the Empire, save for a brief interval, could not be revived, and definitely declined, and though France advanced in Elsass, and, for a time, the Turks in Hungary, yet, at the end of the seventeenth century, Austria was a great Power, capable not only of recovering her lost possessions from the Turks, but of a counter-advance into their dominions, and able, at the partition of the Spanish Empire in 1715, to secure Spanish Italy and the Spanish Netherlands.

A rearrangement of Italy was amongst the first great political 26
changes in the sixteenth century. From 1494 to 1530, the political conditions of Italy were in a continual flux; but, by 1530, a general settlement was reached, which remained substantially undisturbed until the Peace of Utrecht. The main result was the subjection of Italy, and the consequent destruction of the possibility of a united Italy taking her place by the side of the other great States of Europe. That subjection was almost complete, and continued far into the nineteenth century, first to Spain, and then to Austria, which, after the War of the Spanish Succession, entered into the place of Spain. Venice, Savoy, the Papal States, and Genoa, preserved various degrees of independence.

The expansion of France into Italy with which these changes began was but a temporary movement. In 1494–5 Charles VIII added the kingdom of Naples to the Crown of France. His possession of it was brief. In 1496 the dispossessed sovereign was restored. In 1499 the French conquered Milan. They rewarded their Swiss allies with some

territory on the north of the Milanese and west of Lake Como, one of the keys of Italy, and their Venetian allies with Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda. In 1500, by the Treaty of Granada, they agreed to partition Naples with Spain. The French share was to be the city of Naples and the northern districts, the Abruzzi and Terra di Lavoro; the Spanish, Apulia and Calabria. But Naples, never partitioned or dismembered, was not easy to divide. Hence arose a war, which resulted in the expulsion of the French and the annexation of the kingdom of Naples by Spain. In northern Italy the French enjoyed more success and penetrated into central Italy, Venetian Lombardy, and Genoa, only to be expelled in 1512 from all their Italian possessions. They recovered Milan again, in 1515, and Genoa; but, in 1521-2, they were expelled from both. The possession of Milan was an absolute necessity to Charles V, so long as he held Naples and the Netherlands. It was needed for the protection of Naples and of the line of communication from Italy to Germany. At the Peace of Cambray, in 1529, the French renounced their claims to dominion in Italy, and recognised the acquisition of Milan and Naples by Spain. Though France afterwards frequently sought to secure a gate of entrance into Italy, and political influence there, she did not again seek extensive Italian territories, until the question of the Spanish Succession arose; nor

91 did she again acquire them until the conquests of Bonaparte revolutionised the conditions of Italy. She held Saluzzo from 1548
11, 46, to 1588, and Pinerolo from 1631 to 1696, and she acquired Corsica
79 in 1768. But this island was the only extensive territory included in the Italian political system which passed permanently into French hands.

The dominion sought by France was acquired by Spain. The political settlements of 1529-30 and 1559 left Spain in possession of Naples and Milan, as well as of Sicily, Sardinia, and parts of Tuscany, the Stato degli Presidi, and thus with virtual control of the whole peninsula. Milan was first granted as an Imperial fief to Francesca Sforza, but came into the direct possession of Spain in 1540, and 51 remained in her hands till 1706. It was transferred to Austria in 63 1715, and remained Austrian till 1796. By that time it was greatly 15 reduced in size from the Milan of the later fifteenth century. In the north, parts were cut off and transferred to the Swiss Confederation in 1500, and again in 1512 and 1513. Parma and Piacenza were given 51 to the Pope in 1515. In the eighteenth century, Savoy encroached 63 on the west in 1713, 1738, and 1745, until she reached the Ticino, which became henceforward the frontier between the two States. Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily remained Spanish until the War of the 51 Spanish Succession. In 1713 Sicily was given to Savoy, in 1714 Sardinia and Naples to Austria. In 1718 Sardinia was exchanged by Austria for Sicily. The Stato degli Presidi, of which the chief towns

were Orbitello, Telamone, and Porto Ercole, came from Siena to Spain in 1555, and passed to Austria in 1714, and to Naples in 1735.

In the course of the Franco-Spanish struggle for dominion an important political change took place in central Italy, where the Papal States were consolidated into a real temporal Power. First, Caesar Borgia made conquests for himself of the towns of the Romagna; then, Julius II gathered up these conquests for the Papacy; acquired Perugia and Bologna in 1506; recovered in 1508 the towns of Rimini and Faenza, which Venice had seized in 1503, and thus extended and consolidated papal rule in the Romagna and central Italy. The duchies of Parma and Piacenza were acquired in 1515, but they were granted out in 1545 as a duchy to a member of the Farnese family, and passed in 1731 to a branch of the Spanish Bourbons. By the middle of the sixteenth century, papal rule extended from the Po to Terracina, though the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino were only dependencies, and did not come under papal rule until 1598 and 1631 respectively. This consolidation of the Papal States was one of the outstanding results of the period we are considering.

In a time of general change, the position of Venice excited envy and suspicion. Venice had made gains, in Lombardy from Milan, in 1499; the eastern coast towns of Naples, including Otranto, during the Neapolitan Wars; and Rimini and Faenza in the Romagna, in 1503, on the downfall of Caesar Borgia. In 1508, the League of Cambray was formed to divide the possessions of Venice. France and the Emperor were to share Venetian Lombardy, and the Emperor was to obtain in addition Venetian territory in Istria and Dalmatia; Spain was to recover the Neapolitan towns; the Pope Ravenna and the towns of the Romagna; Savoy to acquire Cyprus. Though the partition was almost carried through, Venice in the end recovered the main body of her territory. But her recent acquisitions were pared away. The towns of the Romagna went back to the Papal States in 1508, and, at the settlement of Italy in 1530, Venice surrendered Ravenna to the Pope, and the Apulian ports to Charles V. But, while she lost these outlying possessions, she retained her continuous dominion on the mainland until her downfall. In Lombardy, she was left with her frontier on the Adda, and this remained her frontier to the end. But her expansion was over. She did not disappear, like Milan and Florence, because the mother-city was impregnable in her lagoons. But the situation in which she was left was difficult. The Austrian territories touched her eastern and northern frontiers, the Papal States and Milan her southern and western. Had the Valtelline, the long valley of the Adda, reaching from the head of Lake Como to the Stelvio Pass and connecting Milan with Tyrol, ever fallen into Habsburg hands, Venice would have lain in a circle of Habsburg and papal territory.

When the French were expelled from Italy, the Medici were restored to Florence. In 1530 Florence became a principality. In 1557 she annexed Siena, and in 1567 became a grand duchy, comprising all Tuscany except Lucca and the Stato degli Presidi. She passed under Spanish and, in the eighteenth century, under Austrian influence. When 63 the Medici became extinct in 1737, the grand duchy was assigned to Duke Francis of Lorraine, afterwards Emperor Francis I.

25 Savoy was the only native Italian State which showed much political activity and expansive power in the period of Italian subjection. She grew steadily, and grew in Italian territory. For losses to France and Switzerland she found compensation on the plains of Lombardy and the Mediterranean shore. Acquisitions of small principalities, cessions from Montferrat and Milan, enfeoffments by the Emperor, were the means of her increase. She gained Cocconato from Montferrat in 1503, and Asti, Cherasco, and Ceva in 1531, as a grant from the Emperor to Beatrice of Portugal, wife of Charles III. The purchase of Tenda in 1575, and of Oneglia later, extended her footing in Liguria. North of the Alps, meanwhile, she suffered losses. In 1536 Bern, Freiburg, and Valais took away all her possessions north of the Lake of Geneva and Chablais to the south of the lake. Some of these were recovered in 1567, when Bern gave back Gex and her conquests south of the lake, and Valais part of hers. In 1588 Savoy conquered Saluzzo, which France had held for forty years, but secured it at the Peace of Lyons, 1601, only by exchange for Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex. At the Peace of Chieri, 1631, she obtained the possessions of Montferrat north of the Po, and the greater part of those south of the Tanaro. At the Peace of Loretto (1696) she regained Pinerolo, which France had held since 1631, thus expelling the French from Piedmont, and revised her Alpine boundaries with France. In Italy, she acquired the remainder of the possessions of Montferrat, Alessandria and the neighbouring districts of Milan, and the island of Sicily, which was in 1718 exchanged for Sardinia. In 1738, by the Peace of Vienna, she made further gains from Milan to the south and north-east, particularly Tortona and Novara; while, in 1745, at the expense of the same State, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle carried her frontiers still further east to Lake Maggiore and the river Ticino. Thus, in the course of events, Savoy, driven more and more into Italy, consolidated her power in Piedmont, acquired western Lombardy, and planted herself firmly on the Ligurian coast.

26 Of the smaller Italian States, the duchy of Mantua remained in the possession of the Gonzaga, until, in 1708, it became forfeit to the Emperor, whose possession of it was recognised in 1714. In 1536, Mantua had acquired the duchy of Montferrat; but this, in 1713, passed finally into the hands of Savoy. The House of Este continued to hold Modena and Reggio of the Emperor, and Ferrara of the Pope. In 1598, Ferrara was annexed to the Papal States. Genoa preserved her

independence and her mainland possessions, but Corsica was in 1768 63 taken from her by France.

The formation of the Habsburg Power checked the expansion of France in Italy and drove her to expand in the more natural direction which she had followed in the fifteenth century. Thus, unlike Spain, which grew by distant conquests and acquisitions, France grew within certain natural geographical limits on her eastern and southern frontiers. Acquiring territories which were geographically continuous or connected with the French kingdom, and conquering them piecemeal, she was able thoroughly to incorporate her acquisitions and maintain her unity and strength; and thus her conquests differed very much from the heterogeneous collection of territories which were drawn into the Habsburg Empire, or from the scattered possessions which colonisation and conquest added to the English Crown. French expansion was for the most part in those middle regions between France and Germany whose political future the Middle Ages handed down as a problem for the modern world to solve. With Spain and Austria France disputed and fought for the roads and wealth of this group of countries, and gradually partitioned them. She was driven to acquire dominion here, because of the defenceless character of her eastern frontier, particularly in the north, where her capital lay exposed; and the need was the more imperative, inasmuch as a line of Habsburg possessions hemmed her in. When Spain was at the height of her power, her territories here were a menace to France, and when she declined they became a temptation. So were the Austrian, for the main portion of the Austrian territories lay at a considerable distance, and she would not easily hold the outlying parts; so, too, were the parts of the Empire which relied on the Emperor for protection.

The attempt of France to acquire dominion in Italy has been already discussed. The price of freedom to make that attempt she paid in the Treaty of Barcelona (1493), when Charles VIII restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon, and in the Treaty of Senlis (1493), when he resigned his claim on Artois, Franche Comté, and Charolais. The Italian Wars developed into a struggle between Habsburg and Valois, which checked for a century the expansion of France. When, in 1529, at the Peace of Cambray, the first great settlement between the two combatants was made, France recognised the unquestioned supremacy of Spain in Italy, and surrendered her feudal suzerainty over Flanders and Artois; but she retained her Burgundian acquisitions. In the last of her wars with Charles V, France abandoned the hope of recovering dominion in Italy and sought expansion on her eastern frontier. In 1550 she recovered Boulogne, lost to England in 1546, and, in 1558, Calais, after more than two hundred years of foreign occupation. In the meantime in 1552 Henry II laid hold of the three Imperial bishoprics in Lorraine—Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The Peace of Cateau Cambrésis, in 1559,

brought a struggle of more than fifty years' duration to a close, and marked a definite stage in the formation of the European political system. Italy was left as she had been left in 1529. Savoy was re-established as a buffer State between France and Italy, though France retained Saluzzo, which she had conquered in 1548. The duchy of Burgundy passed, without doubt, into the French kingdom; Flanders and Artois became with equal certainty parts of the Netherlands, and the partition of the Burgundian inheritance was made at last. England also lost finally her foothold in France. All these decisions were the termination of long-standing disputes. One other—the retention by France of the three bishoprics acquired in 1552—was the opening of a new. With this acquisition, France extended outside of the Burgundian inheritance into a German State, to which she had no sort of claim. She acquired, moreover, patches of territory which were disconnected from each other and from the main body of the kingdom; and such a conquest could only be a preliminary to further advances. The Habsburg Power had closed Italy to France, and driven her into Germany, now so much weakened and divided by the Reformation that a strong border State might hope to make gains out of its troubles. But no further advance was made by France during the sixteenth century. The Peace of Vervins, 1598, which ended another stage in the Habsburg-Valois duel, was a confirmation of the Peace of 1559, and left France still hemmed in by Habsburg territories. It was to be her work in the seventeenth century to free herself from this position. One important gain, however, was made by Henry IV. By the Treaty of Lyons, 1601, he obtained from Savoy Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex, in exchange for Saluzzo, which Savoy had reconquered in 1588, and thus brought the French frontier in this quarter to a more defensible natural boundary.

18 It seems desirable now to turn attention to the political changes caused by the Reformation. Though primarily a religious movement, the Reformation exerted a great influence on the political system of Europe. It did not affect Italy, Spain, Portugal, south-eastern Europe, or even France very much from this point of view; but it exerted a strong influence on the shaping of northern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, the Netherlands and the British Isles. Its influence neither coincided with, nor cut across, that of the Habsburg Power, which was the principal force shaping the political system of Europe in the sixteenth century, but ran directly counter to it. The Reformation gradually divided Germany into two hostile camps; frustrated the attempts to achieve German unity and Imperial absolutism; led to the growth of princely power and the progressive secularisation of ecclesiastical territory in the interests of the Princes, and so to the break-up of Germany into a group of States. In the British Isles, by assimilating the religions of England and Scotland, it drew the two countries together for mutual defence, and foreshadowed their future union, and, at the same time, it

contributed to the expansion of England into Greater Britain. In Scandinavia, it sustained the strength of Swedish independence, and hastened the rise of Sweden to her dominant position on the Baltic. In the Netherlands it produced the division of the provinces, and inspired the independence of Holland. Switzerland it divided and paralysed, giving the Confederation a form which it retained until the French Revolution. In Poland, it inserted a divisive force into the heart of a weak State. It thus diminished the political, just as it broke the religious, unity of Europe.

In Germany, the Reformation was rapidly adopted by the Princes and the Imperial towns. When, after the first trial of strength between the two religions, a settlement was made in the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, the division of territories in Germany gave to Protestantism Holstein, Brunswick, Saxony (Electoral and Ducal), Hesse, the Palatinate, Würtemberg, Baden, Mansfeld, Anhalt, Brandenburg, Pomerania, the bishopric of Verden and almost all the Imperial towns—to Catholicism the Habsburg lands, Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Nassau, Lorraine and the ecclesiastical States. None of these last had as yet been secularised, except such as lay within the territories of the Protestant States, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Pomerania.

One important territorial change had resulted from the Schmalkaldic War. The division of Saxony between the Albertine and Ernestine lines has been already explained. The defeat of the Elector at Mühlberg (1547) and the victory of Maurice were followed by a partition of the Ernestine territories. The electorate and the Ernestine part of the Osterland were handed over to the Albertine branch. The Vogtland was given to Bohemia, as also was Sagan, an Albertine possession. After the defeat of the Emperor and the death of Maurice, new changes were made in the Treaty of Naumburg, in 1554. Altenburg, Neustadt, and some other districts were restored to the Ernestine branch. Later changes gave Neustadt back to the Albertines, to whom also Vogtland returned in 1575.

The principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* adopted in the Peace of Augsburg increased the power of the Princes, and the right of secularising ecclesiastical territory which the Protestants claimed opened the way to great territorial changes. The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony and the Duke of Pomerania secularised the bishoprics whose extensive territories broke the unity of their States—Cammin in Pomerania; Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus in Brandenburg; Meissen, Naumburg, and Merseburg in Saxony. For a few years after the Peace of Augsburg Protestantism continued to make advances. By 1566, all the northern bishoprics except Hildesheim were in Protestant hands. The Counter-reformation, however, retrieved much of the ground lost to Catholicism, particularly in the Rhine country. Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the division of States had somewhat

changed. In 1610, the principal Roman Catholic States were the Austrian lands, Bavaria, Berg, Jülich, Hesse-Darmstadt, and the ecclesiastical States of Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Würzburg, Bamberg, Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, Bremen, Verden, Minden, Hildesheim, Passau, Ratisbon, Salzburg, Speier, Strassburg, and Constance. The Protestant States were divided into Lutheran and Calvinist, of which the latter included Brandenburg, Baireuth, Ansbach, Cleve, Mark, the Rhenish Palatinate, the Upper Palatinate, Zweibrücken, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Anhalt, Pomerania, and the former Brunswick-Lüneburg, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, East Friesland, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Würtemberg, Neuburg, Baden, Saxony, and Saxe-Lauenburg, with the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Lübeck, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, and Worms, in addition to the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Pomerania previously mentioned. The great majority of the Imperial towns remained Protestant, and adherents of the reformed creeds were numerous in Austria, Bohemia and its dependencies, and in some of the Catholic States of north-western Germany.

In the first years of the war, 1620–4, Protestantism was finally suppressed in the Austrian dominions and in Bavaria; and, after his successes in 1626–8, the Emperor endeavoured to put into force in northern Germany the policy of restitution which he had carried

31¹ through in southern Germany. By the Edict of Restitution, 1629, all ecclesiastical lands and property secularised by Protestants since 1552 were to be restored. This threatened the Protestant possession of the sees of Ratzeburg, Schwerin, Bremen, Verden, Minden, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Cammin, Havelberg, Brandenburg, Lebus, Naumburg, Merseburg, and Meissen, and in the first seven of the above the restitution was either carried through or begun. It was also carried through in some twenty-three towns, chiefly Imperial, and applied to much property in Elsass, Franconia, Lower Saxony, and Suabia. The resistance of the local authorities, and the course of events after 1630, eventually rendered it a dead letter. In the Peace of Prague, which was concluded between the Emperor and most of the German Princes in 1635, the date of 1627 was accepted as the basis of agreement as to the possession of ecclesiastical property and territory—a decision which deprived the Protestants of the bishopric of Halberstadt, but left them in possession of a great number of the northern bishoprics.

18 The Reformation made headway in Switzerland from two centres, Zurich and Geneva; but it never gained the whole country. Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern, Freiburg, Zug, the Valais, and the Valtelline remained Catholic. In 1586, the Catholic cantons formed the Borromean League for the maintenance of the Catholic faith. This crystallised the division of the Confederation into two parts, and almost

¹ Map 31 is based on a map in Tupetz, T., *Der Streit um die geistlichen Güter und das Restitutionsedikt* (Vienna, 1883).

dissolved the old federal constitution. From the struggles of the Reformation there thus emerged two Switzerlands—the one Protestant the other Catholic—the one embracing the industrial plains of the west, the other the pastoral mountainous regions of the east—each with its own Diet, its own interests, its own policy—the two united in a Confederation which lacked the essential power of action.

The Reformation entered France in the reign of Francis I, and, though persecution restrained its outward manifestation, its adherents gradually spread, first in the large towns, then in the Dauphiné and the Vivarais, and up the waterways of the great rivers. In the fifties, it gained organisation, and, in 1562, it received legal recognition. The strength of the Huguenots was concentrated in the area between the Loire, the Pyrenees and the Rhone. They had outposts in the Dauphiné and Normandy, were strongest in the Gironde, and weakest in the east and north-east. As a result of a long series of civil wars, they established themselves as a State within a State, with an organisation of their own and a guarantee of their position in a number of *places de sûreté*¹. One reason for the inactivity of France between 1559 and 1598, and for the precarious position in which she stood at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is to be sought in the internal division which the Reformation thus created within her borders. It was left to Richelieu to break the political power of the Huguenots, in 1622–8.

In Scandinavia, the vast extent of ecclesiastical property was a strong predisposing cause of the Reformation. The King of Denmark embraced Lutheranism in 1525; the conversion of the country and the secularisation of church property rapidly followed. In Sweden, the Reformation began in 1527, and was definitely carried through; but it had not the same sweeping success as in Denmark.

In England, the authority of the Pope was first repudiated in 1534, and a form of the reformed faith was adopted finally in 1559; in Scotland, the change to the Calvinistic faith was authoritatively made in 1560–1. Various forms of the reformed faith were introduced into Poland, and, with religious liberty, made rapid headway. By 1572, the Protestant sects were widespread. The divisions between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anti-Trinitarians enabled the Counter-reformation to recover the country. In the confusion of Hungary, and under the tolerant Turkish rule, the reformed faith found favourable conditions of growth. Calvinism spread through the great central plain into Transylvania, where in 1557 both religions were tolerated. The tolerant spirit of the Ottoman Government contributed to prolong its rule; for the Protestant Magyar noblemen dreaded the persecuting Habsburg Government. In Italy, the reformed faith gained adherents in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, Naples, and Lucca; but it was rapidly and completely suppressed. In

¹ So far as regards the *places de sûreté*, map 19 is based on the map contained in Anquez, L., *Histoire des Assemblées Politiques des Réformés de France* (Paris, 1859).

Spain, it never had much vitality, except in Seville and Valladolid, where it was easily stamped out by the Inquisition.

22 Under the combined influence of Habsburg rule and the Reformation, great changes came about in the Netherlands. Out of the group of lordships, counties, towns, and ecclesiastical territories which the Burgundian Dukes had gathered together, arose a new State, destined to play a most important part in the political system of Europe, which, as the United Provinces, the kingdom of the Netherlands, or the kingdom of Holland, has guarded its independence and the integrity of its territory down to the present day, and, as a maritime and colonial Power, gained and still holds a large dominion beyond the seas. In spite of losses to the kingdom of France, the Burgundian lands formed a very considerable inheritance when they passed into the possession of the future Emperor Charles V. It was his work to enlarge and define their area and to give them a much greater degree of unity than they had previously possessed. Their frontiers with France had always been shifting and uncertain. As a result of the struggle between Francis and Charles they were at last determined. By the Treaties of Madrid (1526) and Cambray (1529) Francis resigned his suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, and Charles V his claim to the Somme towns. In the subsequent wars Charles maintained this settlement, and the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis (1559) confirmed that of Cambray, and recognised the organic unity of the Netherlands. At the same time Charles extended and consolidated his territories. He added Tournay in 1521; Friesland, after a long war, in 1523; the temporal sovereignty of Utrecht in 1527; Gelderland and Zutphen, finally, in 1543, and Cambray in the same year. The seventeen provinces held by him were the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelderland; the counties of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Zeeland, Holland, and Zutphen; the lordships of Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, Utrecht, and Mechlin; and the marquisate of Antwerp. In addition, he gave to the Netherlands a separate organisation and a centralised government, and declared them to be a single and indivisible inheritance. Save that they were joined with Franche Comté and Luxemburg in the Burgundian Circle of the Empire, they were treated as much as possible as a separate unit. In 1548, their relations to the Empire were reconsidered, and they were declared to be not subject to its laws; and Charles proposed to revise their ecclesiastical organisation so that no part of the provinces should be within an external see. Thus, the Netherlands tended to form a compact as well as a most important part of Charles' scattered dominions. Only the bishopric of Liége broke their geographical unity, and Charles drew that see more and more under his influence. Philip II, to whom in the division of Habsburg power (1556) these provinces passed, continued his father's work of consolidation; but his religious policy provoked a rebellion. In the southern provinces this was suppressed, but the

northern provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, the northern part of Gelderland (with Zutphen), Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen formed in 1579 the Union of Utrecht, and in 1581 abjured the sovereignty of Philip. In 1609 Spain virtually recognised their independence, which was also allowed by the Empire at the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. In 41 the course of long wars, the United Provinces conquered parts of the southern Netherlands—the northern parts of Flanders, including Sluys and Hulst, and of Brabant, including Breda and Bergen, and the Overmaaslands, viz. parts of Gelders and Limburg, including Maestricht. These lands, known as Generaliteitsland, were governed as common lands, and were confirmed to the United Provinces in the treaties of 1648 and 1661. Being possessed of them the Dutch were enabled to control the mouths of the Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine, and to ruin the trade of Antwerp.

A great change was produced in the position on the Baltic by the dissolution of the Union of Calmar. That union had been straining asunder since the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1520, the Swedes revolted, and Sweden definitely released herself from the dominion of Denmark. At that moment Sweden was small and poor. She held not a half of the Scandinavian peninsula. The Danes retained Norway which included the provinces of Jemteland and Herjedalen, on the eastern side of the Scandinavian Alps, and the coastal strip of the south-eastern corner of the peninsula, the fertile provinces of Skaane, Bleking, and Halland. In addition, Bohus was Norwegian; and Sweden thus reached the sea in the south-west only at one precarious outlet, Elfsborg, at the mouth of the river Göta. Of the islands, Sweden held Öland only. Even Gothland, the stepping-stone across the Baltic, was a fief of the Danish Crown. East of the Baltic, however, Finland, up to Viborg, was Swedish. The centre of the kingdom lay in the region of low plains stretching from the Cattegat to the lower end of the Gulf of Bothnia, which interrupts with a broad depression the great forest-clad plateau that occupies the north and is continued in Småland to the south. Geographical conditions marked out the destinies of Sweden. She would need to reach the open sea by acquiring the southern provinces held by Denmark, to reach the mountain frontier of the west by acquiring the Norwegian provinces that overlapped it; and, if she were to be great, to extend her dominion round the Baltic, for little profit could be made by conquering Norway and reaching the North Sea. Hence, round the Baltic was the sphere of Swedish expansion. But the story of this is best told in another connexion.

The dissolution of the Union did Denmark little injury. Throughout the sixteenth century, she remained more powerful than she had been before, dominant in the Baltic. The waters of the Sound were the centre of her dominion. On the east lay the southern provinces of Scandinavia, and further east the islands of Bornholm, Gotland, and

Øsel. To the north was Norway, scantly peopled and poor. West lay the group of islands which linked up the southern end of Scandinavia with the mainland of Europe and the outreaching peninsula, where was the province of Jutland; to the south were the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These two duchies, united to each other indissolubly, became a separate possession of the Danish royal House in 1460, and in 1533 joined Denmark in a federal alliance on almost equal terms. In 1544 they were partitioned between the King of Denmark and his two brothers, so that three lines ruled in them. For Holstein the three did homage to the Emperor; in Schleswig two of the brothers resisted the claim of the third, the King of Denmark, to feudal suzerainty.

54 In the course of time, by the extinction of families, the two duchies were divided between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, their possessions being scattered over both duchies. Since, in Schleswig, the King of Denmark was suzerain of the Duke, and, in Holstein, both were vassals of the Empire, and since Schleswig was indissolubly united to Holstein, and both together were united to the kingdom of Denmark, the relations between the kingdom and the duchies were most complicated. On the west of Holstein was the district of Ditmarschen, where a kind of peasant republic existed. In 1559, it was conquered by the combined efforts of King and Duke, and became part of the royal share of Holstein.

3 While in western Europe the political settlement and the division of disputed territory depended on the balance of power between the kingdom of France and the Habsburg Empire, in south-eastern Europe the Ottoman Turk divided dominion with the Habsburg Empire and the Venetian Republic. In western Europe the scene of struggle slowly shifted from Italy to the eastern frontier of the Empire, in south-eastern Europe it centred in the Aegean by sea, and by land in the hitherto undivided kingdom of Hungary, which was now partitioned between Ottoman and Habsburg along a frontier that, though continually changing, changed over but a small area for a century and a half.

When the advance of the Turks was resumed in the early sixteenth century, it was in Asia and Africa that they at first made conquests. From Persia they took parts of Armenia, Kurdistan, and Upper Mesopotamia by 1515; they acquired Syria, Egypt, and Arabia in 1515–17, conquered Algeria in 1519, and Tunis in 1534. In northern Africa, as

7 in eastern Europe, they came in contact with the Habsburgs. Between 1494 and 1516 Spain, following the Moors into Africa, had acquired a number of coast towns, including Melilla, Oran, Mers-el-Kebir, Bugia, and Tripoli. In the struggle that ensued some of these were lost. But Charles V conquered Tunis and Goletta in 1535, and Spanish influence was maintained in Tunis, until Spain withdrew from Goletta in 1574; while Oran was not lost until 1708 and was again recovered. With the exception of the unconquered Spanish towns,

northern Africa, to the borders of Morocco, passed by 1540 under Turkish rule, which was not seriously threatened by any European Power until the French began their colonial expansion in Algiers in the early nineteenth century.

Meanwhile the Ottoman arms were advancing on the mainland by the land route up the Danube. In 1521 Belgrade was taken, and in 1526 the medieval kingdom of Hungary was overthrown at the battle of Mohács. Hungary consists of three mountainous regions girdling a great plain—in the south the Dalmatian Alps, in the north the Western Carpathians, in the east the Eastern Carpathians. As a result of a series of wars, the Turks gradually made themselves masters of the central part of Hungary—the flat fertile and well-watered plains through which the Danube and the Theiss flow in their passage from Western to Eastern Carpathians. They took Buda in 1529, and, extending their conquests east and west, they had, when the truce of 1547 was arranged, brought Szegedin, Gran, Wischegrad, and Stuhlweissenburg under their rule. The Treaty of Sztvatorok, 1606, which formed the basis of a more lasting settlement, gave them in addition Tata, Eger, Szolnok, Veszprém, and the Banat of Temesvar. Other conquests were made in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1658, they gained a part of the possessions of Transylvania, including Grosswardein and Debreczen, and in 1664, by the Treaty of Vasvar, a considerable extent of territory west of Lake Balaton and north of the bend of the Danube; but their retreat was then near at hand.

Thus, from the middle of the sixteenth until nearly the end of the seventeenth century, Hungary remained partitioned, and the Ottoman and Habsburg Powers swayed backwards and forwards on a fluctuating frontier. Austria managed to retain the mountainous strip of Hungary which flanked the eastern borders of her hereditary possessions, and included Agram, most of Croatia, Upper Slavonia, and part of north-western Hungary. The central river valleys and the mountainous south, that is, most of the Magyar part of Hungary, were governed by the Turks from Buda, and divided into the three vilayets of Bosnia, Buda, and Temesvar. In the dissolution of the old order the principality of Transylvania broke away from Hungary. It laid hold of a group of counties in north-eastern Hungary, known as *Partes Adnexae Regni Hungariae*. The extent of this area fluctuated during the period of Turkish rule—for sometimes the Turks, and sometimes Transylvania, were in possession of parts of it. The relations of Transylvania itself to Ottoman and Habsburg also fluctuated; but the principality was generally under Ottoman influence. Austria acquired it in 1600, but was compelled to acknowledge its independence again in 1606. The two contending Powers, Ottoman and Habsburg, divided its allegiance, as they divided Hungary, in unequal shares for many years. Such was the great northern sweep of Turkish power. Central Hungary was acquired, Wallachia,

Moldavia, and Transylvania, enlarged by its conquests, became dependencies. Even Austrian Hungary at times paid tribute, and a last effort before its decline gave to the Ottoman empire a momentary possession of Podolia, in 1672-6.

Meantime, in the Aegean, the Morea, and Dalmatia, the Ottoman empire grew at the expense of Venice. Dalmatia, except the cities, was conquered by 1540. In the same year, at the peace signed at Constantinople, Urana, Nadin, and other places on the Dalmatian coast, and the Aegean Islands, Skyros, Paros, Patmos, Aegina, Stampalia, and Nios were formally ceded to Solyman. The duchy of Naxos, a Latin State formed by a Venetian in 1207 and including many Aegean islands, was practically absorbed by 1537; but Naxos itself did not pass under Turkish rule till 1566. Antivari in Albania, and the great island of Cyprus, were acquired by the Turks in 1571 in spite of their defeat at Lepanto. Rhodes had capitulated in 1522. Then came a long pause in their acquisitions, until the prolonged struggle (1641-69) which gave them possession of Crete. The contest was not ended, for, at the end of the seventeenth century, in 1685-99, Venice reconquered Aegina and most of the Peloponnese, only to lose them again finally in 1718 at the Peace of Passarowitz, and with them the two fortresses of Spinalonga and Suda which she had retained in Crete in 1669, and the islands of Tinos and Mykonos. This gave to the Ottoman empire complete control of the Aegean, and confined Venice to the Adriatic, where she had been more fortunate, recovering Santa Maura and Butrinto and gaining Prevesa.

B. GREATER EUROPE.

- 2 Portugal, with her favourable position on the Atlantic and her proximity to Africa, led the way for the expansion of Europe into other continents. Castile followed in her footsteps. The desire of the West for the trade of the East was the strongest original motive in this new movement, for Ottoman conquests closed the familiar overland means of communication between the two. In the century between 1450 and 1550, an immense work was done and the arena of European energy wonderfully enlarged. Portuguese navigators and generals built for Portugal an empire in the East; Castilian explorers and captains founded the immense over-sea dominion of Spain.

The colonial enterprise of the Portuguese grew out of their Moorish wars. Following the Moors to Africa they founded a dominion, 1415-71, which they retained until 1578. In a series of naval expeditions they discovered Madeira in 1419, the Azores in 1448, the Cape Verde Islands 1449, and, following the coast of Africa, they reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1486. Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape in 1498, and, making his way to India, formed the first eastern settlement of the Portuguese

at Cochin on the Malabar coast, thus bringing Portugal into touch with the rich civilisation of the East. Moving further east, the Portuguese discovered Ceylon in 1506, Malacca in 1509, the Spice Islands in 1511, and in time reached New Guinea, China and Japan. Meantime, in 1500, another navigator, Cabral, drifted across the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil, and began Portuguese dominion in the New World.

Castilian ships followed the Portuguese in these earlier discoveries; and, in 1479, the Canaries were, by treaty, assigned to Castile. But America was to be the field of Spain. In 1492, Columbus, in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, crossed the Atlantic and discovered the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola; on a second voyage, in 1493, Jamaica; on a third, in 1498, Trinidad and the mouth of the Orinoco, and in a final voyage he reached Honduras. Other explorers speedily amplified his work.

Of the new-found territories the Papacy claimed to be the disposer, and in 1493 it fixed the meridian 100 leagues west of the Azores as the line of division between the spheres of the two competing nations. By the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal, in 1494, the line was changed to one 375 leagues from the islands, and, in 1506, the Pope confirmed the arrangement. But new discoveries raised new problems. The Moluccas and Banda Islands in the east fell into dispute. So, in 1529, by the Treaty of Saragossa, the meridian 17 degrees east of the Moluccas was agreed upon as a second line of demarcation. It was provided, however, that Portugal should keep Brazil, and Spain the Philippine Islands, and that Spain should receive a sum of money for her right to the Moluccas.

Spanish explorers following Columbus increased European knowledge of Central and South America. Possession was taken of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica in 1508–10; the Pacific Ocean was discovered in 1513; Florida in the same year; Mexico in 1518, and, in a search for the westward route to the East, Magellan rounded Cape Horn in 1520, sailing through the straits to which he gave his name, and reached the Philippines in 1521, to perish at Zebu. Conquest followed in the wake of exploration. Mexico was conquered in 1519–21, Peru in 1531, Terra Firma in 1532, Chile in 1535, New Granada in 1536. The southern continent was traversed by way of the Amazon in 1541, while in the north-west the Spaniards, proceeding through Lower California in 1534–5, reached Cape Mendocino by 1542, and, in the south-east, planted their first settlement at Buenos Aires in 1535.

The Portuguese, seeking commerce rather than the precious metals, and for the most part in a different hemisphere, never gained, except in Brazil, the extensive territorial dominions of the Spaniards. The Portuguese empire was a maritime empire—a series of islands, ports, small settlements, and protected coasts, stretching from Portugal round Africa, east and west, Arabia, and India to the distant islands of the

Malay archipelago. The foundations of their dominion were laid by a great Viceroy, Alburquerque, 1509–15. He planted the capital at Goa, in 1510; reduced Malacca in 1511, and Hormuz in 1515, to get the trade of Persia, and established the Portuguese at Ternate and Tidor in the Moluccas, where the Spanish rights were bought out in 1529. In 1517, the Portuguese occupied Colombo, and gradually acquired the trade of Ceylon; in the same year they opened trade with China, and they settled at Macao in 1520, where their sovereignty was recognised in 1587. They captured Diu in 1535, and formed a connexion in 1542 with Japan, where they planted a factory in 1548. The central point of their eastern dominions was Goa. In addition they had Diu and Damaun in the Deccan, Cochin and other places on the Malabar coast, Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, Malacca in the Malacca peninsula, Ceylon, and settlements in the Spice Islands, Java, and New Guinea. On the Persian Gulf they had Muscat and Hormuz. In eastern Africa, where they did not attempt dominion but sought only halting-places, they established themselves from the Zambezi to Delagoa Bay, and built forts at Sofala in 1505 and Mozambique in 1507. They were the only European Power established on the west coast of Africa, where they held points so far south as Cape Negro, and all the islands off the coast, including the Azores, except the Canaries. The colonisation of Brazil was seriously begun in 1531, and the coastal regions were divided into a number of captaincies. Save for the Spaniards, who opposed them in the extreme east, their principal enemy had been the Arabs, whom they had displaced from the great trading centres of the East. Other European Powers, England and France, were not quite inactive while this great work of colonisation was going forward, but their labours, less happily directed, produced little result. In the search for a north-west passage to the East they played a part. The voyages of Cabot, in 1497–8, unfolded the existence of Labrador, Newfoundland, and the north-eastern coast of North America. Verrazzano, in the service of Francis I, sailing due west, further explored the eastern coast of North America; and Jacques Cartier, in 1534–6 and in 1542, made his way up the St Lawrence, where Roberval made an unsuccessful attempt to found a French colony in 1540. Thus the great discoveries were made, and the way was prepared for the later work of colonisation.

SECTION III.

THE RISE OF FRANCE AND SWEDEN.

A. EUROPE.

FOR a large part of the seventeenth century, France in western Europe, and Sweden in north-eastern Europe, were the Powers which exerted the greatest influence in the shaping of the European system. Apart from the temporary advance of the Habsburg Power at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, the rise of France and of Sweden forms the principal feature in the change of political power during this period. Their united efforts prevented a restoration of the Empire under the Habsburgs as a reality; and, while France broke the power of Spain, Sweden confined Austria to south-eastern Europe. The result of long wars was an expansion of France, a Swedish dominion round the Baltic, a further disintegration of Germany, and at the same time the transference of colonial power to the new maritime nations.

At the end of the sixteenth century, France was in a weak position, owing to the line of Habsburg territories which flanked her eastern frontier, and to the tradition of cooperation between the two branches of this great family. Henry IV, however, strengthened this frontier by one important acquisition. By the Treaty of Lyons, 1601, he made an exchange with Savoy of Saluzzo for the territories of Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex, which, lying between the Rhone and the Saône, connected Savoy with Franche Comté, and carried her frontiers perilously into the exposed east of France. In the opening years of the struggle in Germany Spain increased very greatly her power on that frontier. She came to terms with Savoy in 1614; occupied the Valtelline, the important link of communication between Milan and Tyrol, in 1622, and temporarily occupied the Rhenish Palatinate in the same year. It was Richelieu's work to dislodge Spain from the Valtelline, to close the passes, to occupy Pinerolo in 1631, and to begin a war with Spain and Austria, which, lasting in the latter case till 1648, in the former till 1659, yielded to France a harvest of acquisitions. At the Peace of Westphalia France gained the formal recognition of her sovereignty over the three bishoprics—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—which she had held since 1552, and with the

bishoprics was included Moyenvic. She took Austria's place in Elsass, entering into Austria's possessions and rights there. The cession was vague. It was described as the landgraviate of both Elsasses. Elsass consisted of two main parts, Upper and Lower. In Upper Elsass, Austria had a feudal suzerainty over four-fifths of the land. In Lower Elsass, there was no landgrave over the whole territory. Austria had only an administrative authority over the ten Imperial towns, Landau, Weissenburg, Hagenau, Rosheim, Oberehenheim, Schlettstadt, Colmar, Kaisersberg, Türkheim, Münster, and some villages. She had no authority over either the bishopric or town of Strassburg. Both were immediate possessions of the Empire. The vagueness of the cession, for which both parties shared the responsibility, made it possible for France, later, deliberately to misinterpret the clause and to annex the whole of Elsass. In addition, the great town of Breisach was made over to France, and she was permitted to place a garrison in the strong fortress of Philippsburg,

46 thus acquiring two points of entrance into southern Germany. She secured a similar position in Italy where she retained Pinerolo, ceded to her by Savoy, which enabled her to watch the movements of this important buffer State. When, in 1659, after a quarter of a century of war, France came to terms with Spain in the Peace of the Pyrenees, she much increased her gains. On the south, by the cession of Roussillon, with part of Cerdagne and Conflans on the French side of the Pyrenees, she gained the Pyrenees for her frontier. In the north-east she received parts of the Spanish Netherlands—in Artois, all the towns and bailiwicks except Aire and St Omer, which included Arras, Hesdin, and such important places as Gravelines, Landrecies and Thionville in Flanders, Hainault and Luxemburg; as well as Marienburg and Philippeville, thus strengthening the defence of Paris by a line of northern fortresses. At the same time, she temporarily (1659–61) withheld the duchy of Bar from the Duke of Lorraine, while restoring Lorraine.

32, 53 To the expansion of Sweden there were certain natural opponents—Russia, the German Orders, Poland, and Denmark. Her first advance was at the expense of the military Orders. In 1515, the two Orders, united since 1237, separated. A Brandenburg prince became Grand Master of the Prussian lands, and secularised his possessions as the duchy of Prussia in 1525, but remained the vassal of Poland. In 1558–61, the 20 Order of the Sword collapsed. In the scramble for its dominions, Poland obtained Livonia—northern Livonia at once, southern Livonia in 1582, after a struggle with Russia, which was seeking an outlet on the Baltic. Courland and Semigallia became a hereditary duchy in the Grand Master's hands, who did homage for them to the Polish King. Denmark got Dago and Ösel, her last conquests in the eastern Baltic, while Sweden's share was a large part of Esthonia—an acquisition which moved her frontiers forward south of the Gulf of Finland. This was the beginning of Sweden's new advance round the Baltic, and her first

acquisition since the establishment of her independence. It involved her at once in long wars with the rival Powers of Russia and Poland, in the course of which her empire on the Baltic was much extended.

The struggle with Russia was the first to be brought to a successful conclusion. At the Peace of Teusin, 1595, Russia recognised Sweden's right to Estonia and her new conquest Narva, while Sweden retroceded Kexholm, the easternmost province of Finland, to Russia, and thus determined the boundaries of Finland, hitherto uncertain. Sweden, Norway, and Russia had claims on Finmark, and Russia now ceded to Sweden her part of Finmark, which lay between the Varanger and Malanger Fjords. A second struggle, in which Sweden captured Novgorod the Great, was terminated by the Peace of Stolbova, 1617. Sweden restored Novgorod, but received Kexholm, and Ingria between the mouths of the Narova and the Neva, which included Nöteborg, the key of Finland. Russia renounced her claims on Estonia and Livonia. This gave Sweden a strong natural frontier against a powerful neighbour, and proved to be her furthest advance to the east; at the same time, it shut out Russia from her only access to the Baltic, Ingria—her only outlet indeed to an ice-free sea. It was an unstable settlement which placed a nation of one million as a barrier against another thirty times as large. The Peace of Kardis, in 1661, substantially reestablished the settlement of Stolbova; but a more definite demarcation was made of the frontier between Finland and Russia in the south.

The other enemy in these parts was Poland. It was not certain in 20 the sixteenth century whether Sweden or Poland had the greater future. Poland had been steadily rising in importance. The acquisition of Livonia and of suzerainty over Courland meant a considerable increase of power and prestige. With Courland and East Prussia as dependencies, Livonia, Samogitia, and West Prussia in her hands, Poland had command of the whole south-eastern Baltic. Meantime, she had been strengthened by complete union with Lithuania in 1569. At the height of her power, she had embarked on a struggle with Sweden for the possession of the Baltic littoral, as well as for dynastic and religious ends. The Truce of Altmark, in 1629, allowed Sweden to retain possession of Livonia, which she had conquered, of part of the delta of the Vistula, Pillau, and Memel in East Prussia, with the right to levy tolls at Pillau, Memel, Danzig, and Labiau. Sweden was thus in possession of the principal places in both Ducal and Polish Prussia. By the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf, 1635, Sweden gave up the places which she held in Prussia, but retained Livonia. Poland proved henceforth able to protect her possessions, and the great settlement of the north made at the Peace of Oliva, in 1660, brought no further change, save that the Polish Vasa renounced their claim to the Swedish throne. Before this check, Sweden, by her intervention in Germany during the Thirty Years' War, made a great advance to the south. At the Peace of Westphalia she received a "satisfaction" 40

in northern Germany which gave her an indisputable preeminence on the Baltic. She had asked for Silesia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden. Pomerania she wanted most as a security for her Baltic power. In the end she obtained Western Pomerania with the Isle of Rügen, the mouth of the Oder, Stettin, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin. Instead of Mecklenburg, she received the port of Wismar, Neukloster, and the Isle of Poel. In addition she received the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden to be held as secular duchies. These possessions were small and scattered; but they gave Sweden the control of the three principal rivers of northern Germany, the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser; they planted her on the North Sea as well as on the Baltic, and made her a member of the German Empire.

Throughout these struggles, Sweden's old partner Denmark had been surely, if intermittently, hostile. Against Denmark, Sweden fought for the recognition of her independence; for a natural frontier in the Scandinavian peninsula as against Norway in the west and Denmark herself on the south, and for dominion on the eastern Baltic, as well as

- 17 for commercial freedom. At the dissolution of the Union, Denmark held the southern provinces, which had been Swedish before the Union, though Danish during it, and the wealthy island of Gothland, and she had added Dago and Ösel off the eastern Baltic coast, a menace to Sweden's new acquisitions in Estonia, while Norway retained Bohus and the provinces of Herjedalen and Jemteland. Except that at the Peace of Knäred, 1613, Sweden ceded to Norway her claims on Finmark, this position remained unchanged until the War of 1643. The Peace of Brömsebro, 1645, which ended that War, gave to Sweden Dago, Ösel, and Gothland, thus expelling the Danes from the eastern Baltic, the two Norwegian provinces of Jemteland and Herjedalen, which gave Sweden a natural frontier, the great Kiolen range, against Norway, and Halland, pawned for thirty years, as well as freedom from the Sound tolls for all her dominions. Coupled with the Swedish successes in Germany, this Peace changed the balance of power in Scandinavia. Sweden became far stronger than Denmark, and the Baltic practically passed under her control. The great Baltic ports, except those of Prussia surrendered in 1635, and a large part of the Baltic coast were in her hands. It was the beginning also of Denmark's downfall—the first of a long series of treaties which pared away the Danish dominions. Thirteen years later, the Peace of Roeskilde, 1658, inflicted still more crushing losses on Denmark. She surrendered the three provinces Halland, Bleking and Skaane, with the island of Bornholm, while Norway 54 gave up Bohus and Trondhjem. The Danish King also renounced his sovereignty over the dominions of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. By this Peace, Sweden expelled Denmark from the Scandinavian peninsula and gained a natural frontier to the south; she cut Norway in two and

reached the North Sea in this quarter, and she established the Duke of Gottorp as a sovereign prince within the Danish kingdom. Not all of these acquisitions were to be retained. Another war and another peace, the Peace of Copenhagen, concluded in 1660, somewhat redressed the balance of power. Sweden restored Bornholm to Denmark and Trondhjem to Norway. She retained her natural frontiers; but permitted Norway to exist again. By the three great Treaties of Copenhagen (1660), Oliva (1660), and Kardis (1661), in which Sweden came to terms with her enemies, Denmark, Poland, and Russia, a temporary equilibrium was established on the Baltic. The limits of Swedish expansion had been reached. She could hold Livonia against Poland, but could not conquer Prussia; could gain her natural frontiers in the Scandinavian peninsula, but could not hold territory which, like Trondhjem, lay beyond them; could expel Denmark from the eastern Baltic, but could not annex her entire. The empire which she had built up was, in structure, the strangest of European States. It consisted of a long seaboard with but little inland ground—an aggregation of commercial rights and commercial stations without natural unity, conquered and held together by force of arms. Between its scattered parts the Baltic formed a bond of union. All the Baltic islands were Swedish save Bornholm, and the estuaries of all the great rivers, except the Niemen and the Vistula, were in Swedish territory. Stockholm was its centre and capital, and Riga its second capital. Of this circle of possessions Sweden proper formed a core strong and united, which, in the course of the long struggle for a wider dominion, had gained natural boundaries and national unity; so that, even if the external possessions were lost—and they had for the most part no unity of race or geography with Sweden or with each other, and strong foes in the rising Powers of Russia and Prussia—the heart of the empire might be regarded as sound.

Sweden and France had grown largely at the expense of Germany. 40 While they were expanding the German Empire was weakening. The disintegration of Germany and the growth of the power of the Princes is a feature of the period only less important than the rise of France and Sweden. The great Peace of 1648 recognised the right of the Princes to form political alliances with foreign Powers, provided they were not directed against Empire or Emperor, and thus virtually assured complete independence to the three hundred odd States which made up the Empire. The enlargement of the powers of the Princes and the contraction of those of the Emperor finally handed over the destiny of Germany to the Princes. Among those Princes, some made substantial gains as a result of the Thirty Years' War. The method of aggrandisement was, in most cases, the secularisation of ecclesiastical territory, the Peace thus marking a further stage in the process by which ecclesiastical has given way to secular rule. Brandenburg, which had already secularised the sees of Brandenburg, Havelberg,

and Cammin (the last of these in Pomerania, which duchy had fallen by inheritance to Brandenburg in 1637, though Western Pomerania and part of Eastern had to be surrendered to Sweden), now obtained Halberstadt, Minden, and Magdeburg, the last-named to come in on the death of the reigning Administrator, which happened in 1680. Brandenburg thus made very substantial gains by the Peace and rose into the front rank amongst the principalities of Germany. In return for the sacrifice of Wismar and Neukloster to Sweden, Schwerin and Ratzeburg were returned to Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which ceded Mirow and Nemerow to Mecklenburg-Güstrow. Brunswick-Lüneburg, which coveted Hildesheim, Minden, and Osnabrück, received only the abbey of Walkenried and the right of alternate appointment to the see of Osnabrück. Hesse-Cassel got the abbey of Hersfeld. Bavaria obtained the fifth electorship, which the Elector Palatine had forfeited, and the Upper Palatinate, including the county of Cham. The descendants of the ejected Elector Palatine were restored to the Rhenish Palatinate, and obtained a newly created eighth electorship. Saxony kept Upper and Lower Lusatia, which had been assigned to her as the price of peace in 1635. The independence of Switzerland was formally recognised, and the connexion of the United Netherlands with the Empire was allowed to lapse.

- 41 The Peace of Westphalia constituted a great European settlement, which rested on the fact that France and Sweden had taken the predominant influence in Europe that had belonged for so long a time to the two branches of the Habsburgs. The character of Germany was changed, and her relation to the political system of Europe. Her loose polity was still more loosened, and the way was opened for the growth of the minor States. At the same time, new Powers were introduced into her political life. Within Germany, one of the most conspicuous results was the decline of Austrian power. Austria surrendered Elsass and Breisach to France, and Lusatia to Saxony. She consolidated her power by religious persecution and concentrated it by the sacrifice of distant possessions, still retaining a compact mass of territory in south-eastern Europe. Of the changes amongst the minor Powers, the advance of Brandenburg is the most striking. In 1618, Brandenburg had added East Prussia, and the acquisitions of 1648 made her a great State, supreme in northern Germany as Austria was in southern. Her dominion stretched over scattered territories from the duchy of Prussia to the Rhine. Her natural tendency must be to seek expansion by uniting and linking up these territories. For the time, she was deprived of great maritime opportunities. But she had become a foe of Sweden
- 60 53 on the Baltic, and a rival of Austria in Germany. In north-eastern Europe the greatest change was the rise of Sweden. Her gains from Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Germany had given her a position on the Baltic which had transformed that sea almost into a Swedish lake.

Denmark had sunk from her former preeminence. She had lost parts of Norway to Sweden; but in 1648 she still overlapped into the Scanian peninsula, though she was evidently on the down grade. In Germany she had lost no territory, but she had forfeited prestige and position. Russia was passing through a period of trouble and depression. Her westward movement was temporarily stayed by the rise of Sweden, who had closed her only outlet to the Baltic; while, in the incessant struggle on her western frontier, she had been temporarily worsted, and Poland had regained Smolensk and Chernigoff, in 1618. Poland was still great. She was the feudal superior of Prussia, and had made gains from Russia, though her greatness was partly eclipsed by the rise of Sweden.

In western Europe the rise of France is conspicuous. The three 46 bishoprics, Bresse, Bugey, and Gex, Pinerolo, and Elsass were acquisitions that showed how strong was the power behind them. They were but a stage in the expansion of France. She was pressing into the Spanish Netherlands and the other Spanish possessions on her frontiers. In the British Isles Scotland and England were now under one Crown. But it was a period of political confusion, with Scotland and Ireland in revolt. A new State, the United Netherlands, a confederation of seven 22 revolted provinces with their conquests, had appeared on the map, free of Spain and disconnected from the Empire, and had already become a great maritime Power.

In Italy, Spain was still supreme. Her power, threatened in northern Europe, was here unshaken. Possessed of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Stato degli Presidi, she dominated Italy. The Papal States were stronger than ever. Ferrara and Urbino, two semi-independent duchies, had been absorbed by them—Ferrara in 1598, Urbino in 1631. Venice had preserved her territory intact through a difficult period. Savoy had acquired a part of Montferrat, 1631, but had lost Pinerolo to the French, and was thus under French supervision. Mantua and Montferrat remained under the Gonzaga; Modena under the Este; Tuscany under the Medici; Parma and Piacenza under the Farnese. In the Iberian peninsula, Portugal, which had been annexed by Spain in 1580, had freed herself again in 1640. Spain, though she had not yet made the surrenders of 1659, was obviously sinking, as a result of military disaster and the temporary depression of her allies, the Austrian Habsburgs. In south-eastern Europe the situation had undergone little change for three-quarters of a century. The Ottoman empire had not yet reached the limits of its expansion either in Hungary or on the eastern Mediterranean; but internal weakness had for a time restrained its activities. Since the loss of Cyprus the Venetian empire had been almost confined to the Adriatic. Only Crete and two small Aegean islands remained of her more eastern possessions.

B. GREATER EUROPE.

The change in the balance of power in Europe was accompanied by a transference of power in the colonial world. New nations entered into the competition of colonisation, and either ousted, or established themselves by the side of, the old. The Dutch, English, and French became colonial Powers. The Portuguese empire fell to pieces in the East. In the West Spain lost some of her outlying possessions, and found her exclusive claims challenged. At the same time, Russia entered upon the great process which added half a continent to her empire.

- 43 Before the end of the sixteenth century, both Dutch and English were sending out trading fleets to the East. In 1600 the English East India Company began its great career, in 1602 the Dutch. The operations of both companies were at first extended over a wide area. The English established a factory at Bantam in Java, in 1602; their first factory in India at Surat, in 1612; a factory in Japan at Firando, in 1613; and, by 1616, they also had factories at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Ajmir, and Agra in the west of India, and Masulipatam and Petapoli on the east coast. The Dutch came to the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of India, to Ceylon and Java, rapidly spread their activities through the eastern archipelago, and northwards to China and Japan. They took Amboina from the Portuguese in 1605, discovered the northern coast of Australia 1606, and established themselves in the Banda Islands 1609, in which year also they set up a factory at Firando in Japan, and, by 1615, they had a firm grip of the Moluccas. In Java they went first to Jacatra; but, in 1619, they established themselves at Batavia, which became the capital of the Dutch East Indies in place of Amboina. The Danish East India Company, established in 1614, also competed in the eastern trade, and in 1616 planted a fort at Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast and another in Bengal. Much of what was done at first was tentative; but, in time, the several Powers began to get more definite spheres of activity, and to find those positions which became the lasting seats of their power. The Dutch drove the English out of the eastern archipelago—from Pulo Run and Great Banda in 1620, from Bantam in 1621, and from Amboina in 1623; and, though the English returned to Bantam in 1628, the eastern islands passed definitely into Dutch possession. The English concentrated on India. They made Surat their chief post in 1638, built Fort St George on the site now occupied by Madras in 1639, and gained permanent positions at Masulipatam on the east coast in 1632, and on the Hooghly river, 1640. The Island of Bombay came into English possession as a part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza. It was promised in 1661, though not actually handed over till 1665, and in 1668 was transferred by Charles II to the Company. Madras was made a presidency in 1653.

and Bombay in 1687, in lieu of Surat. The Dutch proceeded to extend their possessions by conquest from the Portuguese. In 1638, they conquered some of the Portuguese stations in Ceylon—Negumbo, Pointe de Galle, and Trincomalee; in 1641, Malacca; in 1642, Formosa, where they established Fort Zelandia, in the south-west corner of the island; in 1653, Cannanor; in 1656, Calicut and Colombo; in 1658, Jaffnapatam and Negapatam; in 1661, Quilon; in 1662, Cranganor and Cochin. In 1661, the Portuguese recognised their losses. By 1664, the Dutch had posts in Bengal, Gujarat and on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. Meanwhile, from Batavia they conquered Java and Celebes, they established factories in Pegu, at Ajudia in Siam, and in Sumatra and Borneo, while, in 1651, they occupied Table Bay in South Africa, to provide a halting-place on the road to the East. They divided their eastern dominions into the six governments of Java, Amboina, Ternate, Ceylon, Macassar, and the Cape of Good Hope, and made Batavia their capital. Thus the great Portuguese empire of the East, with its numerous exposed points, was easily broken up by the intrusion of the Teutonic Powers.

In the New World, there was in this period a great extension of colonial activity, without much transference of colonial power. The incoming Powers, which included France, found an open field for their activity, and thus established themselves by the side of Spain and Portugal, founding important colonies, but not overthrowing those of the Latin Powers. In 1583 the English occupied Newfoundland, their first colony. In 1606 the London and Plymouth Companies were chartered, and the territory of Virginia, where the English had made at the end of the sixteenth century ineffectual attempts at colonisation, was divided between them. Jamestown in Virginia was founded in 1608, and the Bermudas were occupied in 1609–12. The settlements in New England began with New Plymouth 1620, those in New Hampshire 1623 and 1627, at Massachusetts Bay 1628–9, in Maine 1632, in Connecticut 1635, at New Haven 1638, in Long Island 1640, and in Rhode Island 1643. In the south, the colonisation of Maryland was begun in 1634, of Carolina in 1663. Maine was united to Massachusetts in 1652 and 1668. New Jersey was formed in 1665, and Connecticut and New Haven united in the same year. In 1664, the Dutch colonies on the Hudson and Delaware, called the New Netherlands, which included the Swedish colonies on the Delaware conquered by the Dutch in 1655, were conquered by the British and confirmed to them by the Peace of Breda 1667. The Dutch received Surinam in exchange. This transference was confirmed in the Peace of Westminster 1674. It was of the greatest importance, as giving the British continuous possession of the Atlantic coast from the French settlements in Acadia to the Spanish in Florida. In the West Indies the British occupied Barbados and part of St Kitts in 1625, Nevis in 1628, Montserrat and Antigua in 1632, Surinam in 1640, Anguilla in 1650, Barbuda in 1661–2, New Providence

and Eleuthera Island in the Bahamas in 1666, the Virgin Islands in 1672, and conquered Jamaica in 1655.

The French followed the British to North America. In 1605 they made a settlement at Port Royal in Acadia; in 1608 they founded Quebec. Quebec was captured by the British in 1629; but, together with Acadia, was restored by the Peace of St Germain in 1632. The Peace of Breda, 1667, confirmed Acadia to France, and, in 1670, Maine east of the Penobscot was recognised as French. In the West Indies, the French occupied part of St Kitts in 1625, part of St Martin, Martinique, and Guadaloupe in 1636, part of Santo Domingo in 1664, and they made a settlement in Guiana, of which Cayenne became the capital, in 1624.

The Dutch West India Company was founded in 1621. From 1623, they established settlements in the New Netherlands, where they conquered the Swedish colonies on the Delaware 1655; but they lost all their possessions here to England in 1667, gaining in exchange Surinam. They made considerable conquests in Brazil, where for thirty years, from 1624 to 1654, they held a large part of the Portuguese possessions. In the West Indies, they established factories on a few small islands, St Eustatius in 1632, Curaçoa in 1634, Saba in 1640, and St Martin, which they divided with the French, in 1649.

- 65** All four of these Powers came also to Africa, to share in the slave-trade. In 1618, the English chartered their first West African Company, which planted one settlement on the Gambia, and another at Cormentine on the Gold Coast; while the French West African Company, formed in 1626, established a fort on the Senegal. The Dutch acquired Gorée, an island off Cape Verde, in 1617, and in 1624 built Fort Nassau at Mouree. Once established on the Gold Coast, they were not long in expelling the Portuguese. They captured Elmina in 1637, and Axim in 1642. In 1641, they proceeded further south and took São Paulo de Loanda, which the Portuguese had founded in 1578, and from which they had subjugated Congo and Angola. But the Portuguese recovered their position in Angola and succeeded in extending their influence further. Danish enterprise in Africa, also, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century. The Danes built forts near Accra at Christiansborg and Frederiksborg; but they soon succumbed to the English in the latter place. The English lost Cormentine in 1667 after the naval wars with the Dutch, but they gained Cape Coast Castle, which became their most important possession on the Gold Coast. From this centre they extended their possessions considerably, building forts at Accra, Dixcove, and elsewhere on the Gold Coast, as well as at Whydah on the Slave Coast. Of greater importance than the struggle for the Gold Coast was the Dutch occupation of Table Bay in 1651, followed in 1653 by the purchase from the Hottentots of a strip of land, which secured for them the peninsula of

the Cape of Good Hope. St Helena, which they had acquired in 1645 as a place of call on the way east, they now abandoned, and in 1655 it was occupied by the English.

Thus, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese 43 were being driven out of the East, where the Dutch had taken their place, almost alone in the Far East, and in conjunction with the English in India. They still had their stations in East and West Africa, but not on the Gold Coast, which the English and the Dutch divided; while, further to the north on the western coast, the French and English were predominant.

In the Western world, the intrusion of the new colonising nations did 106 not menace the extensive land dominions of the Latin Powers. The Dutch conquest of some of the finest provinces of Brazil, including Pernambuco and Bahia, lasted for only thirty years—from 1624 to 1654. Spain, indeed, lost ground in the West Indies; but the establishment of the English on the Atlantic coast of the northern continent and of the French on the St Lawrence and in Acadia was an extension of European colonisation and involved no transfers of territory from the older colonising nations. These latter had, in the meantime, extended and consolidated their rule. The Portuguese, whose settlements were at first exclusively on the coast, gradually penetrated the vast interior and acquired a claim to the greater part of the Amazon basin. At the Peace of Utrecht, the French, who had established themselves in Guiana, recognised Portuguese sovereignty over both banks of the great river. At the other extremity of their dominion, their frontier with the Spanish possessions on the La Plata was in continual dispute. The dominion of Spain, which virtually reached its limits in the sixteenth century, extended through a great variety of countries, from California in the north, over Mexico and Central America, down the western half of South America to the frontiers of Patagonia and over the basin of the La Plata on the other side of the Andes. Outside of the two continents, it included the Philippines and the larger West India islands. It was divided into the two viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, and a number of governments more or less dependent on the viceroyalties. The provinces nominally subject to New Spain were the Philippines, Guatemala, Yucatan, and New Biscay, and the two, or sometimes three, West India governments. Those subject to the Viceroy of Peru were Chile, Quito, New Granada, Terra Firma, Paraguay, Tucuman, and Buenos Aires. From 1718 to 1722, and permanently in 1739, a third viceroyalty of New Granada was established, which included New Granada and Quito. In 1731 Venezuela was made a separate government under a Captain-General, and in 1776 Buenos Aires was raised to the position of a viceroyalty. To it were added the province of Cuyo, from the captaincy-general of Chile, and, from Lima, the four provinces of Upper Peru as well as Paraguay, Cordoba, and Tucuman; so that this

fourth viceroyalty included all the Spanish territory east of the Andes, from Lake Titicaca to Patagonia.

136 While the Western Powers were struggling for colonial dominion beyond the seas, the geographical position of Russia enabled her to advance without rivalry or difficulty. The Russian colonial empire was a natural expansion of European Russia across the forests and plains of northern Asia to the Pacific, and across the steppes of Central Asia to the mountain barriers of India. It never required or rested on maritime power. It was initiated by the military spirit of the Cossacks, and maintained by the expansive and nomadic tendencies of a great population. Russia discovered her new world somewhat later than the Western Powers. In 1581, the Cossacks took Sibir the capital of the Tartar Khanate of Siberia, thus carrying Russia's territory beyond the Urals and founding her Asiatic dominion. By 1630, the Cossacks had reached the Lena; in 1700, they conquered Kamschatka—so easy was Russia's advance to the Pacific. Her southward movement towards China paused at the Amur, from 1683 till 1846. Thus Russia took a place, which her geographical position assigned to her, as a great Asiatic Power. With the exception of the slopes of the Urals, too gentle to be formidable, nature had planted no barrier between the Pacific and the heart of eastern Europe; and, in the circumstances, this vast area passed easily into a single State.

SECTION IV.

THE FORMATION OF THE GREAT POWERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A. EUROPE.

Of the tendencies of which we have spoken as operating in the early 63 seventeenth century, the expansion of France continued until it suffered a check in the great settlement of Utrecht 1713-5, which rested on a balance of power between France and Austria; the expansion of Sweden ceased, and the dissolution of her empire, to the advantage of Brandenburg and Russia, quickly began; the disintegration of Germany continued, and among the chief rising States appeared a strong kingdom of Prussia, which contested with Austria the hegemony of Germany; in north and south, Russia advanced westwards at the expense of Sweden and the Ottoman empire; Austria, instead of declining, took the place of Spain in the Netherlands and Italy, and advanced into south-eastern Europe; Poland was swallowed up by Austria, Russia, and Prussia; in the colonial world, Britain distanced all her rivals, after a long duel with France, in particular, for India and North America. So, in the eighteenth century there was worked out a balance of power between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. Much took shape in this period which has remained to the present day. Sweden was forced almost into her natural limits. Poland was destroyed. The Ottoman empire was driven back. Russia expanded, and Prussia was formed.

We may consider first the expansion of France. The great advance 46 which she had made into the Spanish Netherlands in 1659 was continued. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, she made considerable gains which included Douai, Lille, and Courtrai. By the Treaty of Nymegen, 1678, she restored some towns and annexed others. Her frontier receded, but, on the other hand, it was strengthened, for she gained the remaining Spanish towns in Artois, and made advances in Hainault. The new places which she acquired included Valenciennes, Condé, Cambrai, St Omer, and Maubeuge. In addition, she received Franche Comté, and Freiburg in the Breisgau, but gave up the right of garrisoning Philippsburg. By the "reunions" which followed she

strengthened her hold of Alsace, and annexed Strassburg and Kehl—annexations which were recognised by the Treaty of Ratisbon, in 1684. The Treaty of Ryswyk, in 1697, left her frontier as in 1678; but she gave up Kehl and Freiburg, retaining Strassburg. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, made a lasting settlement of the north-eastern frontier. France gave up much; but she retained a line of towns stretching from St Omer, through Lille, Condé, and Maubeuge, to Marienburg, which represented the substantial result of years of ambition and struggle. By the Treaty of Rastatt with the Empire, 1714, she received Landau also. By treaty with Savoy, in 1713, she rectified her south-east frontier, surrendering to Savoy a tongue of territory on the Italian side of the Alps, and receiving in exchange the valley of Barcelonette on her own side. In the same year, the little principality of Orange was annexed.

79 The changes in the eighteenth century subsequent to those of Utrecht were few. In 1736 Lorraine was ceded to France, to be annexed on the death of the reigning Duke Stanislas, which happened in 1766. Two years later (in 1768) Corsica, the last acquisition before the Revolution, and the only large detached possession in Europe, was gained. The steady advance since the days of Louis XI had given France a strong north-eastern frontier, had brought her on the middle east to the Rhine, on the south-east corner to the Alps, and in the south to the Pyrenees. But she was still separated from her natural boundary, the Alps, in the south by the possessions of the King of Sardinia, Savoy and Nice; and, between Franche Comté and Alsace, the county of Montbéliard, a possession of Würtemberg, made a breach in the continuity of her territory. In addition, there were various enclaves of foreign States within her territory, the most important of which were the principality of Avignon and the county of Venaissin, papal territory on the Rhone, the free city of Mülhausen, and some small possessions of various German States over which France was merely suzerain in Alsace, and some more extensive districts such as Nassau-Saarbrücken, Nassau-Saarwerden, and the county of Salm, over which France was not even suzerain, in Lorraine. On the other hand, she held Landau within the borders of the Empire, and Philippeville and Marienburg in the Low Countries.

54 While France advanced, her old ally Sweden held her own with difficulty, and, within a few years of the check which was placed on the expansion of France by the War of the Spanish Succession, a large part of Sweden's empire was wrested from her in the Northern War. At the **59** Peace of Stockholm, 1719, Sweden handed over Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and lost her position on the North Sea; and in 1720, at a second Peace of Stockholm, she surrendered to Prussia Western Pomerania as far as the river Peene, with the islands of Usedom and Wollin. Stettin was thus lost; but Stralsund, Wolgast, and Rügen were retained. Thus, the Elbe and the Oder became again German rivers. A more crushing blow followed in 1721, when, at the Peace of Nystad, Russia took

Livonia, Esthonia, and the adjacent islands, and parts of the Finnish provinces of Kexholm and Viborg. Nor was this the end. In 1743, by 61 the Peace of Åbo, Russia made another advance into Finland, and gained the territory lying east of the river Kymmenë. The remainder of her ultra-Scandinavian empire Sweden retained into the nineteenth century. Her losses were not surprising, for her empire lacked a sufficient basis of natural strength, and stronger forces than arms transferred her outlying provinces to the rising Powers of the eighteenth century.

In the course of French expansion there arose the possibility of a 51 change which might have overturned the whole political system of Europe and reared again an empire stronger than the undivided Habsburg Power. The question of the Spanish Succession appeared on the political horizon as early as 1668, when the Emperor and Louis XIV made a secret and provisional arrangement for the partition of the Spanish possessions, by which France was to take the Spanish Netherlands, Franche Comté, Naples, and Sicily, and the Emperor Spain and Spanish America. When the question became more urgent, the maritime Powers insisted on a voice in so immense a territorial rearrangement. By the Partition Treaty of 1698, to which they gave their consent, France was to have Naples and Sicily, the Archduke Charles of Austria Milan, and a Bavarian Prince the remainder. On the death of the Bavarian Prince, a second agreement gave to Archduke Charles the mass of the inheritance, to France the two Sicilies and Lorraine, to the Duke of Lorraine Milan. In the end, the whole question was submitted to the arbitrament of war, and a settlement was finally made in a series of treaties, 1713–5, between the various Powers which had taken part in the war. The Spanish empire was dismembered. Spain retained her individuality and her colonies; but she was cut off from her old connexion with the rest of Europe by the loss of her possessions in Italy and the Netherlands as well as of two positions in the Mediterranean. A check was placed on the expansion of France. She gained no share of the Spanish empire—none of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands and Italy for which she had waited so long, none of the Spanish colonies, nor the prospect of the union of the two kingdoms. Her frontiers with the Netherlands were readjusted without being weakened. She obtained Landau on the left bank of the Rhine, and she restored her conquests on the right bank—Alt-Breisach, Kehl, and Freiburg. England greatly increased her colonial power, and in the Mediterranean gained two important strategic positions, Minorca and Gibraltar. Her colonial gains are enumerated in another connexion. Austria received Naples and Milan in Italy, and the Spanish Netherlands, and thus became the first line of resistance to French expansion in this important quarter. Holland was given security against French ambition, inasmuch as Austria was placed between her and France; and she obtained a strong barrier of towns, commanding all the rivers from the Meuse to the sea, which she

- was to garrison, in the Austrian Netherlands. Savoy received Sicily, Montferrat, and a part of the Milanese, and made some rearrangements of her Alpine frontier with France by mutual cession, which removed
- 59 France from Piedmont. Prussia added to her west German possessions the bulk of Upper or Spanish Gelders, and her claim to Neufchâtel was recognised. Thus, at Utrecht, a further stage was reached in the division of those middle lands lying on the western frontiers of Germany for the sake of which so many of the wars of modern times had been waged. These extensive changes, coupled with the expansion of Austria at the expense of the Ottoman empire, and of Russia and Prussia at the expense of Sweden, gave a new form to the political system of Europe, which, with some modifications, lasted until the French Revolution.
- 62 In 1648 was consummated the disintegration of Germany. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Princes had successfully resisted the forces that made for German unity. In 1559, they established their independence of Imperial authority in religion, and, when, in 1648, they secured virtual independence in foreign politics, they reduced the Empire
- 60 to a political shell, enclosing not a single State but a system of States. Of these States Austria remained the chief. Though the Empire was of diminishing value to her, and in Germany she no longer remained without a rival, her territorial acquisitions were so much more extensive than her losses as to give her a European position counterbalancing that
- 40 of France. At the Peace of Westphalia she suffered heavily in ceding Lusatia to Saxony, and Elsass to France, and during the remainder of the seventeenth century she lost a little more ground to France in southern Germany. In 1740 she further lost Silesia to Prussia. On the
- 43 other hand, she drove the Turk out of Hungary and advanced into the Balkan peninsula, took Spain's place in the Netherlands and Italy, and
- 58 shared in the partition of Poland. The surest direction of her expansion appeared to be eastwards. The strength of her dominion lay in the great mass of territory which she possessed in south-eastern Europe. Here, she consolidated as well as extended her dominion, always cherishing the hope of acquiring Bavaria, which her dominions half encircled, by annexation or exchange. A part of Bavaria, the Innviertel, she actually gained by the Peace of Teschen, 1777, as a settlement of her claim on the succession, and only the intervention of Frederick the Great in 1785 prevented the exchange of the Netherlands for the remainder. Nor was the idea definitively abandoned until 1813.
- 48, 60 Austrian expansion during this period began in the south-east. After the Peace of Vasvar, 1664, she surrendered no more territory to the Ottoman. The tide turned, and in 1699, at the Peace of Carlowitz, she recovered Transylvania and Hungary, with the exception of the Banat of Temesvar between the Theiss and the Maros, and parts of Slavonia and Croatia. In 1718, at the Peace of Passarowitz, she made another great advance, recovering the remainder of Hungary and Slavonia, and

gaining parts of Bosnia and Servia, with Belgrade, and Lesser Wallachia. A corner only of Croatia remained to the Turk. But not all this could be retained, and, by the Peace of Belgrade, in 1739, Austria restored her acquisitions in Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia, including Belgrade and Orsova. Along the frontier thus fixed, a position of equilibrium between the two empires was reached which held good for nearly a century and a half, except that, in 1777, Austria obtained the Bukowina, important for its strategic position connecting Galicia and Transylvania, and in 1789 captured Belgrade, to lose it again in 1791, and in 1790 Orsova. As she advanced south of Hungary, so also did she north. By taking a hand in the partition of Poland she gained temporarily a great mass of territory with which to flank her dominions on the north. In 1770, she appropriated the part of the county of Zips which had been pawned to Poland in 1412. In 1772, she took most of Red Russia and parts of Podolia and Little Poland ; in 1795, Cracow, southern Masovia, a part of Podlachia and the remainder of Little Poland. Thus the mass of Austrian possessions in south-eastern Europe underwent considerable expansion in the eighteenth century. Inorganic collection of territories as it was, it was not at this time sundered by race divisions and jealousies.

The part of the Spanish empire which Austria received in 1713-5 extended her dominions greatly, without much increasing her strength. Rich and fertile though the Netherlands were, they were of little value to Austria. They had not Hungary's geographical proximity to the hereditary dominions. Their long subjection to Spain had destroyed their German connexion, and the tie with Austria proved very slight. Austria had little interest in this distant, burdensome, and unnatural possession, which increased the disunion of her Empire, and added to the frontiers she was charged to defend one peculiarly defenceless.

Sardinia, Milan, and Naples, also acquired in 1714, were not less difficult to absorb into the Austrian Empire. There was little intercourse between the Italian and the German possessions of Austria, and her position in Italy only excited the hostility of Spain. Nor did Austria retain possession of all these provinces. In 1718 she made an exchange with Savoy of Sardinia for Sicily, and in 1735, by the Peace of Vienna, another exchange, with the Bourbon Don Carlos, of the Two Sicilies and the Tuscan *Presidi* for the duchy of Parma which had passed to Don Carlos in 1731. Austria after these transactions was confined to northern Italy. The losses which Milan suffered to Savoy have been already indicated. On the other hand, Mantua fell to the Emperor by forfeit in 1708, and Duke Francis of Lorraine, who became the Emperor Francis I, received the grand duchy of Tuscany on the extinction of the Medici, 1737 ; and, in 1771, Modena, which had in the process of time reached the sea between Lucca and Genoa, also came in.

In the course of the eighteenth century, there arose in northern Germany a Power that disputed with Austria hegemony in the Empire,

and that in the nineteenth century expelled her from the German world in which she had for so many centuries played the first part. Prussian expansion has this peculiarity, that it did not proceed from a single centre, but from three clearly marked areas which were gradually linked together. These areas were the Mark of Brandenburg, the duchy of Prussia, and the Prussian possessions on the Rhine. They were distinct in history, language, races, and institutions, and had each a separate course of development. Prussia did not grow, like France or England, by consolidation and acquisition along definite lines and according to a preconceived plan. It was a collection of dominions, formed by war and chance, and consolidated by the arts of government. An open, poor and arid country, small, unprotected by natural defences, less in size than Scotland, Brandenburg became stronger than France and the foremost military Power in Europe.

The early growth of Brandenburg has already been related. In 1524 Ruppin was annexed, and in 1537 an agreement was made with the Duke of Wohlau, Liegnitz, and Brieg securing to Brandenburg the succession to these provinces. The Reformation made possible the secularisation of the three Brandenburg bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus (1553), and Havelberg (1555). In 1571, Beeskow and Storkow were gained. Meanwhile, Ansbach had bought the principality of Jägerndorf, Beuthen, and Oderberg in Silesia in 1523, acquired a reversionary interest in Oppeln in 1528, and inherited Baireuth on the extinction of the ruling line in 1557. In 1603, these Franconian possessions came in to Brandenburg; but in the same year they were granted out again—Ansbach and Baireuth to younger brothers, Jägerndorf, which was lost to the Hohenzollerns in the Thirty Years' War (1623), to another member of the family. In 1609, Brandenburg gained a footing on the Rhine. The Elector laid claim to the Cleve-Jülich inheritance, and, in 1609, accepted joint rulership of the disputed territories with the other claimants. The Treaty of Xanten, however, in 1614 made a partition of the territories which was confirmed in 1666 and which gave to Brandenburg, finally, Cleve, Mark, Ravensberg, and Herford. In 1618, the duchy of Prussia, held by a Hohenzollern as a fief of Poland, came in to Brandenburg, and in 1657, by the Treaty of Wehlau, Poland renounced her suzerainty over the duchy, in return for the restitution of Ermeland which Brandenburg had seized in 1656. This renunciation was confirmed in the Peace of Oliva, 1660. Tauroggen and Serrey were added to the duchy in 1691. Both were given up in 1793, but Serrey was recovered in 1795.

- 40 The Peace of Westphalia brought large additions to Brandenburg. Pomerania, according to an agreement between Brandenburg and the Dukes of Pomerania, should have come in to Brandenburg in 1637. But Sweden was in occupation, and in 1648 Brandenburg could get only East Pomerania—and this without Stettin and a two-mile strip on

the east of the Oder, which she ceded to Sweden in 1653. Ample compensation however was given her in the bishoprics of Cammin, Halberstadt, and Minden, the archbishopric of Magdeburg which she was to receive on the death of the existing Administrator, and various other places of less importance. Later acquisitions were Lauenburg and Bütow in Pomerania, 1657, and, by the Peace of St Germain, 1679, the strip along the Oder, surrendered to Sweden in 1653, except Damm and Gollnow. In 1679 Schwiebus was taken in satisfaction of the Silesian claims, but was restored in 1694, and the claims were reasserted. The archbishopric of Magdeburg was acquired in 1680, and Burg in 1687.

In the great wars at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Kings of Prussia, for such the Electors of Brandenburg became in 1701, fought to secure their possessions on the Rhine and to extend their dominions on the Baltic. At Utrecht Prussia received Upper Gelders, 51 whence she could watch Austria in the Netherlands. This, with Mörs and Lingen, obtained in 1702 on the extinction of the Nassau-Dillenburg family, and Tecklenburg, obtained in 1707, went to increase her Rhineland territories. Neufchâtel also was obtained in 1707, and Prussia's possession of it was recognised at Utrecht and was maintained till 1857; but it was a distant, detached possession, and never became a centre of expansion. The Peace of Stockholm in 1720 gave Prussia 54 a part of Swedish Pomerania, including Stettin and district, the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and Damm and Gollnow. This territory, lying between the Oder and the Peene, secured to her control of one of the great commercial highways of northern Germany.

The various acquisitions which the Hohenzollerns had made, while they brought extensive territories under their rule, were so scattered that they needed to be linked up and consolidated, if Prussia was ever to form a strong State. To Frederick the Great the configuration of his kingdom was intolerable. He desired Saxony, West Prussia, and Swedish Pomerania. He gained Silesia, which he seized in 1740, and which Austria finally yielded at the Peace of Hubertusburg in 1763, together with Schwiebus and Glatz, though not Jägerndorf in the form in which Prussia had claimed it; East Friesland, in 1744, which brought Prussia to the North Sea; a part of Poland—West Prussia, Ermeland, 58 Kulmerland and the Netze district, but not Danzig and Thorn—in 1772; and the county of Mansfeld in 1780. The Franconian possessions, Ansbach and Baireuth, came to Prussia in 1791; and in 1793 she 58 acquired South Prussia together with Danzig—long the object of desire—and Thorn; in 1795 New East Prussia, and New Silesia with Serrey. These extensive acquisitions from Poland linked up the Prussian territories and rounded them off, and, while they diminished the length of her frontiers, added to their strength. West Prussia united East Prussia and Brandenburg; South Prussia, Silesia and Prussia; while New East Prussia improved the eastern frontier. The last addition brought

- Prussia to her extreme eastern limits, and coincided with losses on the Rhine at the Peace of Basel, of which we shall speak later. Thus was built up, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the strangely shaped kingdom of Prussia, which stretched its great length across northern Germany from the Rhine to the Memel, with outposts in the Netherlands, Franconia, and on the Swiss frontier.
- Austria's neighbour Bavaria had greatly increased her importance in the Thirty Years' War, and at the Peace of Westphalia had gained an Electorate and the Upper Palatinate with the county of Cham. In 1742, the Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor, the one exception to the long line of Habsburg Emperors from the time of Frederick III. In 1777, the Bavarian territories passed to the Sulzbach line of the Wittelsbach family, which, since 1742, had been ruling the Rhenish Palatinate and the duchies of Jülich and Berg, acquired by the Palatinate at the partition of the Jülich-Cleve inheritance in 1614. Both Saxony and Austria had claims to parts of Bavaria. But the Saxon claims were bought off, and, on account of the Austrian, the Habsburgs received the Innviertel—the territory between the Inn, the Danube, the Salza, and the Austrian frontier.
- Saxony was too much weakened by partition to have the strength to which her population and natural richness entitled her. Thuringia was a maze of Saxon States. In 1648 the Ernestine line divided into two main branches—Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Gotha—which afterwards split up into branches too many to enumerate, though Eisenach, Coburg, Meiningen, and Hildburghausen call for mention. The electoral line, which had received Lusatia in 1635, divided into four branches in 1656. Of these, the minor branches died out in the first half of the eighteenth century, and their territories were reunited to the electoral. From 1697 to 1763 the Electors were also Kings of Poland.
- The Brunswick family, with their extensive, though barren, territories and their position on Elbe and Weser, might have contended with Brandenburg for the leadership of North Germany. But they gained little at the Peace of Westphalia, except the alternate right of appointment to the bishopric of Osnabrück, and, like Saxony, they were weakened by division. In 1689 the Lüneburg line acquired Lauenburg, and in 1692 the ninth electorate. In 1705 the Lüneburg and Calenberg possessions were united in the person of the Elector George Lewis, who, in 1714, succeeded to the Crown of Great Britain. Brunswick-Lüneburg, or Hanover, under which name it is better known, acquired Bremen and Verden from Sweden, in 1720, Bentheim, and some other smaller possessions. Like Saxony, Hanover gained little advantage from its foreign connexion.
- The Wolfenbüttel line received Walkenried, in 1648, and made other small acquisitions in the seventeenth century. In 1735 its possessions passed to the younger line of Brunswick-Bevern, which had been established in 1666.

Concerning the less important German Houses a summary statement may suffice. The Duke of Würtemberg was restored to his lands and title in 1648, except to Montbéliard, which passed to another branch of the family, to return to the main line in 1723. The Baden territories, divided since 1536 into two branches, were united in 1771 by the Baden-Durlach line. Of the four lines into which Hesse had been divided in 1567, one died out in 1583 and another in 1604. Over the possessions of the latter, Hesse-Marburg, the remaining two, Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Cassel, disputed until 1648, when the partition favoured Hesse-Cassel. In 1736 they also shared Hanau. Anhalt in 1603 divided into four lines, ruling at Dessau, Bernburg, Zerbst, and Köthen, of which the Zerbst line died out in 1793, when its territories were partitioned amongst the other three. Of the two Mecklenburg lines of Schwerin 40 and Güstrow, the Schwerin line in 1648, as noted above, recovered the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, transferring Nemerow and Mirow to the Güstrow line. The former line died out in 1692, the latter in 1695. In 1701 the two lines of Schwerin and Strelitz took their places. In 1667 the ruling line in Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Jever died out, and, by an agreement of 1649, the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp jointly succeeded to these territories. Delmenhorst was pawned to Hanover in 1711; but the connexion of Oldenburg with Denmark lasted for more than a century, and its termination marks a stage in the history of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1658 the King of Denmark had been compelled to surrender his sovereignty over the Gottorp possessions in the two duchies which left the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp an independent Power. In 1721 the Duke surrendered to the King his possessions in Schleswig. In 1773 the Gottorp possessions passed to Paul III of Russia. Paul renounced to Denmark his claims in Holstein, which was thus united again with Schleswig under Danish sovereignty, in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which he ceded to the Prince-Bishop of Lübeck. In 1777 Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were raised to the rank of a duchy. Of the Nassau family the main Orange line, Nassau-Dillenburg, died out in 1702. Its possessions were divided. Parts went to Prussia, the principality of Orange on the Rhone to France, and the remainder to the Nassau-Dietz line. In 1795 three branches of the family remained at Idstein, Weilburg, and Usingen. The territory under ecclesiastical rule was a good deal diminished in northern Germany by the secularisations of the Reformation and of 1648; and the number of the Imperial cities also dwindled, fifty-one remaining in 1789. 54

The expansion of Russia and her advance into western Europe is not less a feature of the years between 1648 and 1795 than is the rise of Prussia. It marks perhaps the most important change which the political system of Europe had undergone. It added to the system a State of immense potential strength, not divided from its European neighbours 52 •

by distinct geographical or ethnological boundaries, and, hence, ever pressing on their eastern frontiers. To understand its growth, we must retrace our steps. Russia was formed of a group of Slav principalities in the greatest plains of Europe—the valleys of the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Düna, which rivers drew her to expand towards the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian. In the sixteenth century, she was cut off from all seas. Sweden and Poland cut her off from the Baltic, Poland and the Ottoman empire from the Black Sea, the Tartars from the Caspian. The natural increase of her population, their migratory habits, the search for a scientific frontier, and the desire for a civilising intercourse with other nations, impelled her to expansion seawards which her great strength enabled her to make and to sustain. Her first wars were with the Tartars; they began a great landward ad-

1 vance of Europe against Asia. When the Tartar empire broke up, there arose on its ruins the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Crimea. In 1552, Russia annexed Kazan; in 1554, Astrakhan, which gave her command of the Volga from source to mouth and brought her to the Caspian Sea. Persian Asia was thereby thrown open to penetration by Russia, and the Volga offered a southward route. Crimea passed to the Turks,

61 and the Russian acquisition of it was postponed till the reign of Catharine. On the Dnieper, the Don, the Volga, and the Ural were Cossack communities, which protected the southern frontier of Russia and maintained, in some cases, a virtual independence till the eighteenth century. In 1577, Russia asserted her supremacy over the Don Cossacks,

136 which brought her nearer to the Black Sea. Four years later, her colonisation in northern Asia began with the conquest of Sibir, the capital of the Tartar Khanate of Siberia, whence Russia gradually spread her power eastwards to the Pacific Ocean. In the north-east the enemies of Russian expansion were Sweden and Poland-Lithuania. Lithuania, with her Russian provinces, provided another centre round which the Slav race could group itself. Nature had placed no geographical barrier to divide the two States, and between the two there was constant war, with fluctuations of frontier. As Russia tended to expand westwards, so Lithuania tended to expand eastwards; and the contact with the western world, and possession of the rich valley of the Dnieper, gave her a strength which outweighed the vaster extent of the Muscovite empire. In 1557-60 Russia conquered the greater part of Livonia from the Teutonic Knights and reached the Baltic; but Poland-Lithuania took this territory away in 1582. From 1584, many years of unrest and civil strife checked the expansion of Russia and compelled her to make sacrifices on

• 32 her western frontier. At the Peace of Stolbova, 1617, she surrendered to Sweden Ingria and Carelia, and to Poland by the Truce of Deulino, in 1618, and the Treaty of Polianovka, in 1634, Smolensk, Chernigoff, and Sieverski—a great slice off western Russia and the greater part of her Lithuanian conquests beyond the Dnieper. Not till the Peace of